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New Republic

NOVEMBER 17, 1947

PERRY: UNKNOWN LORD OF THE PRESS

By THOMAS WHITESIDE

JEWISH DP's IN THE CINEMA CITY

By HENRY WALLACE

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT

By JAMES R. NEWMAN

THE ROME THAT SENATORS DON'T SEE

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

SALESMEN OF ANTI-SEMITISM

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THINGS are coming to a head pretty fast now, with the special session here and the foreign ministers' conference soon in London. There has been a big change in the official attitude toward Russia; it hasn't reached the public yet, but it will; and you already see it affecting top-level US policy-makers in all directions.

Baldly, the idea is that the US is winning its ideological and foreign-policy duel with Russia. Worry that Italy and France may go Communist continues, but has been abating since the local elections there. The changed approach can be expressed as simply as this: Washington has been scared stiff of possible overnight Soviet expansion in Western Europe; now some of that scare is subsiding.

Emphasis is being put on signs of weakness within Russia itself. Mrs. Roosevelt knows what's going on and expressed the feeling in her column when she declared that Molotov, in his Moscow speech about the atomic bomb, sounded like a "little boy who whistled in the dark to keep up his courage."

Is this development good or bad? Good, if a diminution of fear of Russia produces US magnanimity, constructive action and reduced hysteria; bad, if it merely promotes a vindictive, relentless, anti-Communist crusade. But—whether good or bad—this past fortnight's change in the official viewpoint is probably the biggest unwritten news development in Washington; if you listen closely you can practically hear the sigh of relief going up in the State Department.

No distinction. Harold Stassen's new book, *Where I Stand,* has us baffled—and we don't baffle easy, either. He wants far-reaching government aid to eradicate slums and slumps, but then denounces governmental bureaucracy and intervention; he shows sympathy for trade unions, but calls the Taft-Hartley Act the basis for "a fair, just and well balanced" labor policy. He had the intellectual curiosity to interview Stalin, but then goes out of his way, repeatedly and doggedly (and this is the strangest of all), to lump communism and socialism together.

Personally Stassen is one of the most attractive men we know. It is only with the greatest reluctance that we conclude he may really mean what he says when he constantly and energetically affirms that English, French and Scandinavian socialism is just about the same thing as Russian communism. Here is a typical sentence: "We must combat the infiltration of communism *and socialism* into this country as we would combat a plague." He draws no distinction between the two ideologies. Stassen has previously urged that no Marshall Plan aid be given to Britain if she nationalizes the steel industry.

The attempt to tie political strings to the aid program may be the issue on which the whole thing stands or falls in Congress. Stassen is a tie-strings man. Anybody who calls Stassen a "liberal" should read this curious book. If he is one, then it is of a special kind.

Its own worst enemy. United States Steel is making so much money that it has had to vote an extra dividend to get rid of it, even realizing the "I-told-you-so's" this means from government economists, and the inevitable wage-boost demands from Phil Murray next April.

When the war ended, Chester Bowles said Big Steel could grant wage boosts without raising prices. Steel said no, and Snyder intervened, after a four-week strike, and gave the company large price boosts. Again in 1947, with the OPA killed, Truman tried behind the scenes to get Big Steel to lower prices voluntarily, as

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part of his anti-inflation drive. Again Big Steel said no. The Nourse economic committee emphasized the huge profits of industry—the heavy responsibility on private business. The Nourse group went out of its way to urge, specifically, "stability in steel prices" and to point out the massive steel profits. Well, these profits for US Steel have now reached the point where it is increasing its regular dividend, and declaring its first extra dividend since 1929. And no wonder.

Official records show that net profits (after taxes) of the iron and steel industry in the first *six* months of this year are higher than they were in the *12* months of each of three war years, 1943, 1944 and 1945. Net profits last year were $283 million and in the first six months of this year they have already reached $225 million. Total profits for 1947 will be simply fantastic.

What is true of steel is true of most heavy industry. Workers' wages are slowly losing the race with bounding living costs, and at the same time corporation profits are just that much bigger. One always comes back to the same old conclusion; the worst enemies of capitalism are the capitalists.

Washington T. R. B.

Wraith of Free Spain: "Truman Doctrine? In my day, they called it 'non-intervention'."

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New Republic

THE WEEK

IN ANOTHER WEEK of hot words and cold war, it was comforting to see the battle of the Marshall Plan (hereinafter to be referred to as ERP) coming toward decision on familiar home grounds.

The weighty reports were all in—from Krug, from Nourse, from Harriman, and finally from Secretary of State Marshall himself. The next voice you hear will be that of the President of the United States, telling the 80th Congress what he dares to hope it may do.

Unfortunately, though, nothing seems to work out simply for Harry Truman. Happy as he is to find the ball game back in the familiar stadium of Capitol Hill, he still has to make a decision. Dad-gummit, is he going to let Marshall and his department administer ERP? (After all, this spending program is about all the foreign policy we have.) Or is he going to give the job to a special agency, and let some ambitious fellow like W. Averell Harriman ride it into the vice-presidential nomination?

Who the heck ever invented Europe, anyhow?

IF LONDON FAILS

Rumor. The State Department has been thrown into a tizzy by confidential information that the Soviet Union intends to propose to the forthcoming meeting of the "Big Four" foreign ministers that all four occupying powers withdraw from Germany at once.

The department was prepared to propose again that the occupation of Germany continue indefinitely, and that a loose confederation of the four zones be accomplished without the establishment of a strong central government. It was expected that the Russians would again dissent to such a plan, that a speedy deadlock might be achieved, and that thereafter the US could proceed with the reorganization of the three western zones along the lines proposed by Herbert Hoover.

Now the American negotiators are worrying about the necessity of whipping up a counter-proposal to the anticipated Russian suggestion. It is almost unthinkable that the US delegation could agree to such a Soviet proposal, since a similar Soviet suggestion regarding Korea met with immediate US veto.

Hoover's plan. The embarrassment caused by the necessity of preparing for a new Russian attempt to settle the problem, however, has not brought about any slackening of plans to carry out the Hoover scheme for creating two Germanys. This week the Hoover plan got the support of Senator Vandenberg and former Secretary Byrnes.

By this scheme, the eight German prime ministers now holding office in the west would form a government to draft a constitution and accept a peace treaty without Soviet participation. Since five are Christian Democratic Union men and three Social Democrats, the cabinet would be the conservative kind Hoover wants.

Moreover, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, head of the Social Democrats, who used to oppose partition and a separate peace, appears to have climbed on the US bandwagon during his recent trip to this country. On his return to Germany he told a secret meeting of his party leaders of what the New York *Times* called his "trimming sails to the winds of fortune."

Now's the Time to Sell!

The *Wall Street Journal*, an enterprising publication which overlooks no good business opportunity, last week published the following tip: "The chemical contents of the human body, formerly valued at 98 cents or a dollar, are now calculated to be worth, at current prices, about $31."

ALICE IN WASHINGTON

Guilty. "Let the jury consider their verdict," the King said, for about the twentieth time that day.

"No, no!" said the Queen. "Sentence first—verdict afterwards."

"Stuff and nonsense!" said Alice loudly. "The idea of having the sentence first!"

"Hold your tongue!" said the Queen, turning purple.

"I won't!" said Alice.

"Off with her head!" the Queen shouted at the top of her voice.

Something equivalent took place last week when Secretary of State George C. Marshall ruled "finally" on the firing of 10 persons from the State Department. No charges; no. No hearings; no. Seven of the employees are fired and not permitted to resign without prejudice; yes. Charges cannot be revealed because they are based on "highly classified material" in control of another department of government.

To the man of stern military upbringing it was more important to respect the regulations of another government bureau than the rights of Americans under the Constitution.

"UNBLEEDING" KANSAS

Advt. The Kansas Industrial Development Commission this week carried an ad in David Lawrence's *United States News* which said:

". . . Kansas labor is 97 percent American born, largely rural in origin and entirely unresponsive to radical

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leadership and mass emotionalism. No interpreter is needed to speak to or for Kansas labor . . . the language is plain *American* and the thinking is American. Kansans . . . realize that the interests of labor and industry are inseparable. That is why there has not been a serious work stoppage in Kansas in more than a quarter-century. That is why you may profit by considering a move to Kansas. Kansas *really* meets industry halfway."

People who have studied current history might raise an eyebrow at that business about unresponsiveness to radical leadership and mass emotionalism. They might think the advt. was describing the kind of people whose responsiveness to such stimuli has got us all in a lot of trouble during the past decade.

JUSTIFIABLE SLAUGHTER

Cut and dried. In Brunswick, Georgia, a jury of white men brought in the expected verdict; it took just eight minutes to acquit Warden H. G. Worthy and four Anguilla prison-camp guards of federal charges of depriving eight Negro convicts of their civil rights by killing them (the *NR*, July 28).

Defense counsel Vance Mitchell contended that the shooting was ordered to break up what he described as both (1) an attempt at a mass jail break and (2) a "Communist-inspired" plot to take over the prison camp.

Prosecution witnesses contended that the warden had been drunk at the time of the massacre, that he had deliberately provoked the convicts into a break for shelter by firing his pistol at them, and that several of the Negroes had been gunned to death as they crawled under the prison bunkhouse for protection.

ROADSHOW RED-HUNT

OAKLAND, CALIF. *(NR correspondent)*

Same script. The shooting script of state senator Jack Tenney's one-man Red-baiting slapstick comedy staged in the basement of the new county courthouse here is pretty much like J. Parnell Thomas' late and unlamented show in the nation's capitol.

In a caricature of a court, Tenney clowns with his end-man, Richard Combs (billed as "counsel" of the California un-American committee), and uses every un-American trick in the book to prove the un-Americanism of witnesses. Witnesses and their lawyers are manhandled physically as well as verbally.

Cheap props. But the props here are altogether different from the ones in Washington. Perhaps because Tenney can't escape his past—in the days of prohibition he led a jazz band in the "Owl," a Mexican border honky-tonk—his hearings compare with Thomas' as a midway side show to the Hollywood big time. There are no floodlights, no microphones. An audience of less than 100, which comes for the laughs, sits on folding chairs.

But Tenney is keeping at it because most of the California papers are covering the hearings dead-pan, leaving out the incidents which show the shady as well as the silly aspects of the mock trials.

Advance promises of sensational hot stuff, heavily played by Hearst and Scripps-Howard papers, fizzled. Haakon Chevalier, a former professor at the University of California, was to have been the villain of an atom-bomb spy plot, but Tenney learned belatedly that Chevalier had told the FBI all about it 18 months ago and been given a clean bill of political health.

Progressive and labor circles in California, however, feel they can't take the smear too lightly because some of the phony dirt is likely to stick. The hearings are being picketed by 150 CIO men from the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union, one of the many organizations the ex-band leader is trying to paint Red.

Man of Principle

While he was a judge in Tokyo, Yoshitada Yamaguchi kept a diary. In it he wrote of his own private war with the black market and how he resolved to boycott it by living solely on his legal salary and rations. Most of his food he turned over to his family; his own meal was a bowl of thin soup. He refused to heed his wife's plea that he sell his personal belongings and buy black-market food with the money.

"How can one who judges others do any black marketing?" he asked.

Last week Japanese newspapers published Yamaguchi's little journal in full, because the judge had died of malnutrition and tuberculosis.

FRATERNITE

Petit frere. Pierre de Gaulle, the General's younger brother, never had anything to do with politics until the recent elections, in which he became a councilor for the city of Paris. Now he is slated to be president of the Municipal Council, the equivalent of mayor of Paris.

Lansing Warren of the New York *Times* commented: "Possibly owing to the haste with which General de-Gaulle's party was organized for these municipal elections and the scarcity of candidates among its early backers, relatives and close friends of the General were placed on the electoral lists in a number of instances."

By chance Pierre happens to be a high official of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne. Opponents of the RPF (Rally of the French People) point out his links to "la grande banque" and his role as a representative of the "200 ruling families" of French capitalism. They also point out that Napoleon III, who made himself Emperor by a "free referendum" after having been elected President of France, found high places for his relatives and close friends.

RAIL STRIKE THREAT

Background. In the spring of 1946 the Railroad Brotherhoods, in common with most of labor, sought an increase in wages to compensate for the rising cost of living. Some of them went on strike, and President Truman threatened the strikers with the draft, then still in force. The railroad men had to settle for a small wage increase.

Since then they have had no boost in pay. They watched the OPA die and food prices rise more than 30 percent. They watched the Interstate Commerce Commission grant increases in freight

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rates—enough to raise the wages of all railroad workers 54 percent. They watched the rest of labor get another round of increases last spring.

On October 13 the roads got still another boost of 10 percent in rates. Their application to the ICC for a further 17-percent increase before January 1, 1948, will probably be approved shortly. Finally, the railroad men read that in the first nine months of 1947 the major roads showed a profit of $316 million as against $105 million in the same period last year.

Demand. The brotherhoods could stand it no longer. Last month they asked the railroads for a general wage increase of 30 percent. Negotiations were opened in Chicago. Leaders of the 350,000 railroad employees showed their good faith by scaling down to 14 the 44 rules governing working conditions which the unions had hoped to obtain. But they made it clear that they were not willing this time to give up all their rules just to get some more money.

Still the operators stalled. They wanted to be sure of their 17 percent from the ICC. They wanted to balance rules (which for them are cost items) against wage demands.

A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who is the uncrowned leader of the five brotherhoods, is a mild and patient man, but last week his temper was wearing thin. Insiders guessed that unless there was a settlement of about 15.5 cents per hour for everybody, there might be a showdown within the next week.

FIGURES DON'T LIE

BALTIMORE *(NR correspondent)*

Facts. Last week, the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that average *hourly* manufacturing wages in Baltimore had increased approximately 25 percent in the four years ended last April.

The next day, on the basis of Maryland Labor Department statistics, the Baltimore *Sun* disclosed that during the same four-year period, average *weekly* manufacturing wages in Baltimore, owing to the reduction in working hours and the loss of overtime, had increased exactly 36 cents, or less than one percent.

Meanwhile, the BLS consumer-price index for Baltimore had risen 26 percent.

THE NEW LOOK

Goebbels' aides. Fashions in trials, like hemlines, change. So the Justice Department made only a one-paragraph splurge by announcing it had dropped treason charges against Edward Leo Delaney, of Olney, Illinois, and Jane Anderson, of Atlanta, Georgia, because of "insufficient evidence." Their indictment had been banner-headline news.

Jane Anderson used the Goebbels short-wave stations to proclaim that the Nazis were fighting "for religious freedom and social justice." She heiled Hitler as the great bulwark of "Christian-Catholic civilization against the menace of Bolshevism." She proclaimed that "selected officials of the United States were secret representatives of Russia," and that "the Nipponese forces are fighting communism in Asia as Christian crusaders."

Delaney, a former Hearstling, also broadcast for Goebbels from Berlin, giving out the current Nazi propaganda in Broadway slang. He called himself E. D. Ward.

Of the Americans who broadcast for the enemy, only one, Douglas Chandler, has been brought to trial. He got life.

Ezra Pound got off with a plea of insanity and is living comfortably in a private room in a sanitarium near Washington. He is free to see his wife and other visitors daily.

The cases against Donald Day, former Chicago *Tribune* correspondent, and Mildred (Axis Sally) Gillars were dropped on instructions from the Justice Department. The trial of Robert Best, former United Press correspondent, has been postponed.

Max Koischwitz, former instructor at Hunter College, New York, is believed to be dead. So, apparently, is American resentment at treason on behalf of our late foes.

"AND WHAT DID FALA DO THEN?"

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Politics, Taxes and Knutson

by Jan Hasbrouck

EVEN Republicans eager to make good their promises to cut taxes have apparently come to the conclusion that it would not be good politics to intrude this "must" of the National Association of Manufacturers at a special session called to aid the hungry abroad and at home.

Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R, Mass.), Speaker of the House—which must originate tax legislation—said that there would be "no time" for tax reduction before the regular session.

President Truman has said that he will not mention taxes in his November 17 message.

Harold Knutson (R, Minn.), stubborn chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who has been poised to spring his third try at tax cutting as soon as Congress convenes, has backed down for the moment. But the nature and source of his compulsion became even clearer last week with the publication of the report of the Special Tax Study Committee of the Ways and Means Committee.

Knutson decided last summer that a useful prop for the forthcoming GOP attack on the present tax structure in behalf of the well-to-do would be a set of recommendations by "experts." Tax experts are, to the Knutson mind, tax lawyers; and a committee of high-powered tax lawyers and other "sound" businessmen was chosen. Looking around for window dressing, Knutson thought the safest would be Matthew Woll, aging conservative vice-president of the AFL and a lifelong Republican.

No one needed to read beyond the introductory pages last week to get the idea. The words, "Take, for instance, the man with an income of $50,000 . . ." appeared several times. Then there was the sorry plight of "a young man starting out in life with no dependents and an income of $2,000. . . ." (Average wage of all workers in manufacturing industries: about $2,500.) The same young man "makes his way up the ladder to $5,000 and marries. . . ." And so on.

Arthur Elder, a young tax expert from the Washington staff of the AFL, sat in on the deliberations for Woll, who could not be present, and got madder and madder at the closed-door conclaves on how to save the wealthy. He wrote a sizzling minority report which so dismayed the committee that they did everything possible to suppress it, including a direct appeal to Woll. But the AFL leader stuck by Elder and signed his report. The majority report, lushly printed in New York, merely says: "Mr. Woll was unable to attend the meetings of the committee, and does not concur in the report."

The majority (or Magill) report was front-page everywhere. Most papers contented themselves with merely stating: "Matthew Woll, a member of the committee, prepared a dissenting report." Actually, everything which those not in the heavier surtax brackets needed to know about the Magill document (and the long-range GOP tax policies) was set forth trenchantly and expertly by Elder-Woll:

¶ Concerning the Magill thesis that continued prosperity requires more capital for investment in the hands of the wealthy: "Each billion dollars in tax reduction applied to . . . income groups below $3,000 would undoubtedly contribute more to the maintenance of purchasing power and general economic stability. . . ."

N. Y. POST SYNDICATE

"THAT'S WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU LET IN THE COMMON PEOPLE."

¶ Concerning the Magill proposal to strengthen excise taxes (liquor, tobacco, gasoline, tires, transportation, admissions, etc.): They would "shift the tax load from those more able to those less able to bear the burden."

¶ Concerning the Magill recommendation that the privilege of married couples in 13 community-property states to split their incomes be extended to all: It "would substantially reduce the income taxes of married persons having incomes over $5,000 . . . about 3.5 percent of all taxpayers. The only possible justification for tax reduction at this time is to give some relief to the remaining 96.5 percent of our people in the lowest brackets where rising costs have threatened even subsistence." The Elder-Woll counter-proposal: Legislation to make residents of the favored 13 states pay the same as everyone else, which would raise no constitutional problem.

¶ Concerning the 33 highly technical and complicated minor revisions proposed by the Magill group: They "would wreck the effectiveness of the surtax on individuals almost as devastatingly as any surtax-scale revision they might have contemplated. Their purpose seems to be to attain by indirect and complex methods the result of income-tax cutting for the favored few which they do not dare recommend by an outright reduction in surtax rates."

The Elder-Woll recommendation: Increase the present $500 personal exemption and give an earned-income credit, which should have been recommended "if the majority were really interested in stimulating incentive to produce."

The Administration is reluctant to cut taxes, at least until the scope of aid to Europe is clear. But to forestall the GOP and make some political capital for next November, President Truman will probably send a tax-adjustment bill to Congress early in the regular session based on principles similar to those of the Elder-Woll report.

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WHAT THE OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS PORTEND

by Helen Fuller

THE November 4 election results bear out the *New Republic's* analysis of last year's elections: that voter confusion and a small turnout at the polls produced the Republican sweep, not a national turn to the Right or a "rejection of the New Deal," as was so commonly stated in the nation's press at that time.

If a real conservative "trend" were responsible for Democratic losses in 1946, the Republicans should have continued to gain this year. Instead, clearer issues and an unusually large vote combined to produce the reverse.

Kentucky. The Democrats swept Kentucky, ousted Republicans in about 100 mayoralty races and cut down the Republican vote in all three special congressional elections. Hot issues which drew near-record crowds to the polls for a non-presidential year and much improved performances by the regular party organization helped the Democrats.

In Kentucky, where 800,000 people voted, the Democratic candidate for Governor, Earle Clements, won by more than 125,000. (When only 540,000 in the entire state voted in 1943, a Republican Governor was elected by 8,000.) The Republicans campaigned on the Taft-Hartley Act. For the first time in years, labor made its weight felt in protest. The Democrats harped on the high cost of living and how the Republicans were to blame for it: housewives and independent voters came out to settle the score.

Indiana. Hoosier Democrats were able to beat out Republicans in 53 cities largely because they have been paying close attention to party organization this past year. It was machine against machine, and, thanks to the resentment against Republican misrule in many towns, the Democrats profited.

Cleveland. The Republicans ran their prize glamor boy, Eliot Ness, against Democratic mayor Tom Burke and backed him with big money.

"HE'S QUITE A FAMOUS REPORTER—HE UNCOVERED THE LIBERAL TREND IN THE GOP."

Burke's personal popularity with labor, Negroes and independents reëlected him by a record vote, 66 percent of the total. But in the rest of the state, the Democrats scarcely held their own.

New York. In New York State, Syracuse and Buffalo ousted their Republican administrations, largely because they had gone along with Governor Dewey's sales-tax program. In Schenectady, labor finally mustered enough unity and enthusiasm to wield the balance of power and elect a Democratic mayor for the first time in 16 years.

In New York City, the Tammany and GOP machines ganged up on the Proportional Representation system of electing members of the City Council. With the help of the Red-baiting press they were able to defeat PR, using the presence of two Communists on the council as the target of a campaign of misrepresentation. Progressives blamed the apathy of liberal voters for the defeat of the system in use since 1937, and planned to reverse the verdict at next year's election.

There was no upset in any of the three special elections to fill House vacancies. The Democrats retained the Fourteenth New York District, and the Republicans held the Fourth Ohio and the Tenth Indiana Congressional Districts. But in each case, the Democratic vote rose and the Republican vote fell—just the opposite of what happened last November.

The Democrats cut the Republican share of the total vote: in the New York District, from 25 percent to 16 percent; in the Indiana District, from 61.3 percent to 55.2 percent; and in the Ohio District, from 59.2 percent to 55.3 percent. The Democrats say this certainly looks like a trend to them.

San Francisco. Neither party reads any "trend" into the outcome in San Francisco, where municipal elections are "nonpartisan." Judge Elmer Robinson, a Republican with no platform, was elected mayor over Representative Franck R. Havenner, who was backed by Democrats and progressive labor elements. (Victor Riesel of the New York *Post* reported that aid from "the Lefties" beat Havenner, but no one else, including observers on the spot, found anything to support Riesel's one-man scoop.) Labor didn't stick together. Under the stimulus of a Hearst slogan, "Do You Want the City Run by Harry Bridges?" AFL leaders deserted the loose coalition of the AFL and the CIO.

In other cities where labor and progressives were similarly split, they were similarly licked.

Detroit. In the Motor City, only two of a labor-progressive slate of six candidates for the City Council were elected. The CIO supported the Republican nominee for mayor; the AFL, the Democratic.

Philadelphia. In Philadelphia, too, the left-of-center forces were divided. If the Democrats had won the mayoralty race, it would have been the first time since 1883, so it was no surprise that the Republicans reëlected Mayor Bernard Samuels and swept every office not required by law to be filled by the minority party.

In the notorious river wards of the city, in the Negro wards and the central city wards where the secret ballot is still a rarity, the Republicans rolled up ten-to-one majorities. Elsewhere

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Richardson Dilworth, the hard-hitting Democratic candidate, ran ahead.

ADA-PCA partisanship muddied the waters too. ADA leaders were in Dilworth's inner circle. Democratic Boss Michael Bradley specifically requested the PCA to refrain from any campaign activity at all. The Democrats continued to neglect the Negro group, while the Republicans chose a few days before election as the time to announce the appointment of a local man as Pennsylvania's first Negro judge.

Pittsburgh. In this area, where labor is a full partner in the Democratic Party, the Democrats have tried for 58 years to take the district attorney's post from the Republicans. This time, by hard organizational work, they did it, and swept every other Allegheny County office as well.

Apparently, the liberals' contention that "a big vote is a good vote" still holds true. Hot issues and/or strong political organization bring big votes.

Mississippi. The most gratifying political news last week was probably the least significant. The people of Mississippi rejected John E. Rankin as candidate for the US Senate. Only six of the 10 counties in his own Congressional District favored him for election.

But it is too soon to say that in electing Judge John Stennis, an affable conservative, the poll-tax aristocrats of Mississippi were actually voting to move into the twentieth century. Politics in the Deep South is not that simple.

The Democratic Party, it appears, is not the totally dead horse the Republicans have been picturing it to be. And the Republicans are not the lead-pipe cinch much of the press has indicated. The Democrats, stuck with Truman, must rely on improved organization to carry them in '48. If logic prevailed in politics, the Republicans would surely cross Robert Alphonso Taft off their list of possible candidates for good in favor of a potential landslide maker like Ike Eisenhower. If logic prevailed.

THE STREETS OF ROME . . . These are

PRETEND for a moment that you are a Republican Senator gathering facts in Italy. You spend your one day in Rome walking down the Via Veneto, Rome's richest street. The crowds that pass you, laughing, are as well dressed as you. The store windows are filled with gold, jewelry and expensive watches. Alfa Romeos, larger than Packards, glide past you. Small bands of black marketeers trail you, tugging your sleeve and offering you lire at far more than the official rates.

Why, you ask, should your constituents give up their food to help these people? A single day spent at the American Embassy listening to soft explanations of the plots of Italian Communists and de Gasperi's need of assistance, will send you hurrying back to Washington demanding immediate aid.

Across the tracks. But turn down a side street, as we did, and drive through cobbled streets filled with rotting vegetables and ragged men. There are no more jewelry stores. An old man pores over garbage. A girl of six, half-naked, squats on the pavement, evacuating.

You come to Trastevere, a working-class district that was shunned in fear by Mussolini and the Nazis. Stand, as we did, in a square in Trastevere—where we were surrounded at once by an angry, jostling crowd.

An old man, blind in one eye, shook in our faces the tin he was carrying around, begging for soup. "We're sleeping in the streets!" he cried.

A woman rattled a box with a few lumps of coal. "This cost me 40 lire," she exclaimed, "and it must last two days."

"We live badly, we live badly," the crowd echoed.

"What do you eat?" I asked.

There was a great shout. "We don't eat!"

"And when you do eat?" I asked.

"Bread and potatoes, bread and potatoes," they cried.

"And milk?"

"Half a glass a day for the kids only."

"And meat?"

"Never, never!"

"When did you last buy clothes?" I asked.

"Before the war," they replied.

And it was true, their clothes were falling apart on their bodies and their paper shoes were mud-caked.

"How do you live?" I asked.

"We don't live," most of them cried, and a few muttered, "By the grace of God."

Daily bread. "Some live well in Italy," I said.

"Only the priests and the Christian Democrats."

"Don't you ever get American supplies?" I asked.

"Never, never!"

"Why not?"

"Ask the priests," they shouted. "They get it all and give it to those who vote right."

"And what about you?"

They said, *"Mangiare ' preti."* ("We are priest eaters.")

"What about American coal?" I asked.

"All for the Christian Democrats!"

"And American clothing for relief?"

"De Gasperi gave it to his daughter for her dowry!"

A short woman, clad in a man's jacket and sweater, grabbed hold of my coat. "My husband is a tinker," she said. "He is without work. I have tuberculosis. We borrow to live. For eight months we have paid no rent. What will we do this winter? We have no clothes left. We eat soup and bread once a day. We

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the people visiting US Senators seldom meet — by Michael Straight

have five children to feed. I think they are dying."

An old man drew out his pension card. The stamps in its pages were of de Gasperi, but on page one was Mussolini's mark and the title, Fascist Institute for Social Security. "This is all I have," he said. "I can't live!"

A boy of nine, grimy and bright-eyed, looked up at me. "My father is a Communist," he said.

Bleak, cold and bare. We drove out to Tiburtina, a workers' settlement in the suburbs built by Mussolini. Along the roadsides dotted with antique ruins, maples were turning at last. The first autumn chill was in the air and a light drizzle was falling. Children played in the mud streets of the settlement and on the walls were painted the slogans: "Down with the Christian Democrats!" and "Death to the King!"

"These people are Socialists and Communists," our guide said. "They are Catholics too, but the priests don't come here any more. These people will go hungry rather than ask the priests for anything."

We stepped into the two-room house of a worker's family. It was bleak, cold and bare. A wood fire flickered beneath a hot-iron plate—the stove. In the bedroom was a cot, a bed, a picture of Christ and a crucifix. In the bedroom a white-haired woman stood silent with her children. She was 47, but looked 65. She spoke hesitatingly: "My husband has no work. He makes a little money on the black market to pay the rent. And the children go out in the fields to pick chicory roots to eat."

Nine children and the mother sleep in the bed, an iron frame with two boards for springs, two sacks of straw for a mattress and one blanket for warmth. The eldest daughter is married but sleeps in this bed, since she has nowhere else to go. Under the blanket, in the middle of the bed, was a lump from which noises came. I uncovered the lump and picked it up—a baby. Its face was red and shrunken. Its hands were bound in rags. It whimpered until the white-haired woman pulled down her rags and pressed it against her dun-colored breast. "We have lost five," she said. "Some days the other children don't eat, but this one must. So I go each day to the government kitchen for a bowl of soup."

"And when winter comes?" I asked.

"We shall crowd around the fire all day and try to keep alive."

The children clung to her. The oldest boy, 12, wore a girl's pink-cotton dress and nothing else. They stood barefooted on a tiled floor. I felt the floor and it was very cold. I saw that the children were shivering. Staring at their sharp, white faces, I suddenly realized why they looked strange. Their bodies were little kids' bodies. Their faces were the faces of old men and women.

One slogan. So pretend for a moment you are a Republican Senator. Walter Lippmann writes that the cold war is over, won by America. But these people don't read Lippmann and they wouldn't know. They know only that it's cold in Italy and getting colder. Sure, there is a danger, Senator. The slogan on the settlement walls says: "Mothers, for the welfare of your children, vote Communist." And why not, unless we give these people the means to live and something to live for?

DRAWINGS BY SOLESON

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HENRY WALLACE

In Rome, as in Palestine

TEARS from hardened men should be capable of moving almost any human barriers. They haven't yet.

I talked with many graduates of Hitler's terror camps when I visited Cinecitta, a few miles outside of Rome. They had difficulty in telling their stories. Tears, for which they apologized, but for which we who listened felt most ashamed, interrupted their stories of Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian beginnings, of concentration camps, and their desire for admittance to the US, Palestine or a Latin American country. They retained only the slightest spark of hope. They were fearful, frightened men—some with and some without families.

Cinecitta, through which we were guided by representatives of the International Refugee Organization, may have appeared in the tourists' guidebooks of Mussolini's day as Italy's motion-picture center and a place to be seen. It did not appear in the guidebooks we used in the Eternal City.

The humane, overworked men of the IRO who escorted us took no pride in saying that Cinecitta was the best DP camp in Italy, if not in all of Europe. They did not limit our tour to the few small, clean rooms—once the dressing rooms of movie stars—in which individual families with infants are housed. They showed us the damp, barnlike rooms—once movie sets—where 60 and more people live and sleep under leaky roofs. They showed us the "kitchens" where the DP's prepare their meals. They told us how only 10 to 15 percent of the camp's "guests" could find employment in running the camp and how the rest must pass away the hours, days, months and years in waiting.

It is toward Italy that many of the Jews of Central Europe press as they strive to leave the continent on which their dear ones were massacred. In the DP camps they get their numbers for emigration. On the basis of present quotas it will be seven to eight years before most of them can get into the US or Venezuela or the other countries they choose.

Four years in Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen; two years and more in DP camps; and the totals comprise years more of cooped-up misery. While there are no armed guards and no compulsion, neither is there work, privacy or family life. Physically, life is utterly drab. Spiritually, it seems all but hopeless, except for the very strongest—the nursing mother studying a primer of English; the *New Republic* reader (his brother in the United States sends it to him): "LaGuardia was here. He gave us hope. As you said in the *New Republic*, 'We must not let him down'."

Not so far from the catacombs, where the visitor can marvel at the steadfastness, the perseverance and devotion of the early Christians, are settlements contrasting sharply with the drab, spiritless life at Cinecitta.

The Villa Cavallotti, a large nineteenth-century mansion, is one such place. It is rented from a wealthy Italian by the American Joint Distribution Committee (a Jewish organization). It houses approximately 150 refugees ranging in age from mid-teens to early twenties. There is none of the costly administrative machinery found in regular DP camps. There is self-government. There is spirit. There is purposeful existence.

We arrived unannounced and unexpected after night had fallen. Entering the villa, we found some young men playing pingpong in a room covered with murals.

On the left wall is a giant and excellent likeness of the father of Zionism, Theodor Herzl, who is shown looking on a utopian land of agriculture and industry—Palestine. On the right is a wall covered with the colors of an abundant harvest with golden and black-haired boys and girls bringing in the crops—in Palestine. On another wall is a large gray ship breaking through stormy seas and a stone wall—to Palestine. Our spirited hosts tell us that the artist, an earlier trainee at the Villa Cavallotti, didn't break through. He is on Cyprus.

These young people, principally from Poland by way of concentration and DP camps, are training themselves for life in Palestinian collective settlements. Not one has a father or mother left. They are all passionate Zionists. They don't want to be stopped and turned back to Cyprus, but they reason that Cyprus, if it happens, will be a step closer to Palestine.

They are learning both agricultural and mechanical

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pursuits. I looked in on their shoemaking and tailoring rooms, where they are producing goods which the IRO's charges in other camps will wear. The young *Kibbutzniks* are all highly grateful for the technical training provided through an American Jewish agency, the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training (ORT).

Here, as in Palestine, when they have finished their day's work they dance the *Hora,* though the spirit here is not only joyous; it is almost martial. The music for the *Hora* was played on the accordion by Morrie Weiden, who hopes that his study of music will enable him one day to play in the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, which Toscanini has called the third-best in the world. Both Morrie and I took pleasure in his story that the room in which he now sleeps was used by General Kesselring when the Nazis occupied the Villa Cavallotti.

More crowded, less permanent, and though its inhabitants' futures are unsettled, this embryo Kibbutz in Italy is at one in spirit with the dozens of old and new collective settlements we saw in Palestine. It stands in sharp contrast to the despair at Cinecitta.

The future of these spirited youngsters is not uncertain only as regards Palestine. Though the administration of these training centers is less costly and incomparably more productive and useful than regular DP camps, some refugee and relief officials frown on them as contributing to "illegal" immigration into Palestine. In their eyes the solution to illegal immigration is to be found in bigger and better guarded DP camps.

But the problems of Jewish and non-Jewish refugees will not be solved by turning DP camps into modified concentration camps. Failure to expand the Kibbutz type of training beyond the 70 centers now established in Italy would be shortsighted. Curtailment would be criminal.

The waters of Central European grief are sweeping human beings to Italy and from Italy to boats almost predestined to end up at Cyprus—all because the nations of the world have forgotten Dachau. Illegal immigration into Palestine cannot solve the problem of the Jewish DP's. That problem demands an immediate UN solution to the whole question of Palestine. It demands action by our Congress on the Stratton bill, which would open our doors to 100,000 immigrants for each of the next four years.

Once again our nation, the most powerful in the world, is on test in the eyes of the peoples of the world.

While in Rome, I had an audience with His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, and during our pleasant half-hour conversation urged him to do everything in his power to help open the doors of predominantly Catholic countries of Latin America to those refugees who would like to build their homes there. I urged him to help in achieving a speedy, peaceful solution of the problem of the Holy Land.

I am convinced from my observations of both the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine that a peaceful solution of their problems is not only possible but likely.

It is my hope that when the questions of partition and interim supervision have been successfully concluded at Lake Success, the UN Economic and Social Council will turn its attention to the vital economic problems of the Middle East.

International development of a Jordan Valley Authority would assist the Jews, Palestinian Arabs and Transjordanians to develop increasingly high standards of living. It would help free the Arab farmer from a feudalistic system. It would provide the means for giving power and irrigation to the Negev, where hundreds of thousands of DP's could be settled. It would be a sound investment in world peace, a worthwhile project for the World Bank.

The solution of the international political problem of Palestine will strengthen the UN and increase the hopes of those who work for world peace. The additional strengthening of the UN will require consideration of fundamental economic problems—a fact driven home to us not only in the Middle East, but by conditions in Italy.

The visitor to Rome is likely to be misled by the abundance of luxury goods available to those with the price to pay.

I visited the Trastevere and Tiburtina sections of Rome and spoke with miserable, sick, unhappy people there. (Elsewhere, Michael Straight reports more fully on our visit.) They are, like millions of their countrymen, worse off in a physical sense than the inmates of Cinecitta. The utter degradation and misery of a large number of Italians today may make one wonder whether our modern society is less cruel than that of the emperors who fed Christian martyrs to the lions of the Colisseum.

The need for an international relief organization is no less acute today than it was a year ago when Fiorello LaGuardia made his unsuccessful plea to the UN. It is necessary to provide normal political development for the nations of Europe without outside interference. It is necessary to reduce the burden on our own economy.

The strength of the greatest nation in the world must not be dissipated by shortsighted operations based on day-to-day political considerations. We have asked others "to plan." It is apparent that we "must plan" ourselves.

H. W.

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"ALL THE TOWN'S CHILDREN"

by John K. Weiss

Long Branch, N. J.

THIS manufacturing town and summer resort (population 20,000) is on the verge of wiping out a 62-year-old tradition of Negro segregation in its elementary-school system.

The town's answer to school segregation has been a surprisingly simple one. There has been no magic formula involved; the question has been one of approach.

Acting together, the white and Negro parents of Long Branch have recommended that the Board of Education close forever the doors of a little grammar school which since 1885 has been the town's one official symbol of segregation. If, as is likely, the board accedes, the battle will be over. But the real story of the townspeople's victory over racism is the manner in which they reached their decision.

Negroes only. Liberty Street Elementary School, located in Long Branch's Negro district, is a drab block of red brick overlooking a cinder playground. Nearby towers a Long Branch landmark—the gas works. In this atmosphere of dullness and gloom, intensified in the classrooms, generations of Negro children have come to realize that Liberty Street is out of bounds for white boys and girls.

The seats, the desks, the blackboards are adequate. The teachers are capable, and the building, though designed to accommodate 135 children, has been able to hold 175 year after year. Nobody has ever forced the Negro children to attend, and if a Negro parent wishes to send his boy to the white school on Garfield Street, he may. Negro children go to Liberty Street because that is the way it has always been, because the school was built for them alone.

A year ago several parents began to question the tacit acceptance by

Negroes and whites of segregation in Liberty Street. They were disturbed by the excessively crowded classrooms in the Negro school, while in so-called white schools there were empty desks. The first step to correct this situation was taken by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP asked the Board of Education if it would remind Negro parents that their children could go to any school they chose. The board was also requested to assign two white teachers to Liberty Street as another way of breaking down the segregation complex. The NAACP chairman, war veteran Stanford Whelcher, said the request "wasn't much, but there just didn't seem to be any excuse for this segregation except inertia on everybody's part."

Although the board was not really hostile to the suggestion, it was no more accustomed to acting quickly than other school boards. But finally last August, after a year, the officials granted the NAACP plea by announcing that children of both races could register at either Garfield or Liberty Street and that Liberty Street would be given two white teachers.

Fighting lady. At this point, gray-haired Mrs. Mary Viracola, a renegade DAR and lifelong Republican, decided that, once started, the idea ought to be developed to its logical conclusion. Five days before school opened, she told an NAACP meeting that the town should get rid of Liberty Street once and for all. "It is a Jim Crow school, and it will always be a Jim Crow school," she warned. "It is the duty of every Negro parent in this district to enroll his child at Garfield Street." The parents took her advice. When school opened, only 57 Negro children trooped over to Liberty Street. All the rest registered at Garfield.

When the Board of Education had recovered from its surprise, it laid out a new district for Liberty Street, in order to redistribute the student load. The 95 Negro and 35 white children in the area were told to attend the Liberty Street School. But the parents of all the children involved refused to recognize the ruling.

The situation became potentially explosive after the white parents formed a School Betterment Association (SBA) to fight the order sending their children to Liberty Street. But everyone kept thinking. Mrs. Viracola persuaded the SBA to adopt a single plank: to close down Liberty Street and send all children, regardless of race, to other schools. SBA vice-president Joe Spalletta remarked, "We're not going to fight as whites, Protestants, Jews, Catholics or anything else. We're all citizens of Long Branch, and what's good for any of us is good for all of us."

Parental pride. From then on, Long Branch had the matter under control. At an overflow meeting with the Board of Education, Negro and white parents rose one after another to ask for the end of Liberty Street. They were pleading for all the town's children. And the school board responded by allowing the children to go back to the schools at which they had registered on opening day. It further promised to decide on Liberty Street after a conference with the SBA, the NAACP and state education officials.

As they left the meeting, the parents knew they had won. Today, as they await the board's announcement, they feel a little proud of themselves.

John K. Weiss is a political reporter on the newspaper PM in New York.

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BOILER PLATE EMPIRE

A shrewd combination of news and merchandising gives rural press lord John Perry a powerful grip on little weeklies

by Thomas Whiteside

Most of the 9,000 weekly country newspapers in the United States today are the product of "Mr. and Mrs."—the editor and his wife. They are also, in part, a product of the peculiar genius of John Holliday Perry, a press lord almost unknown to the American public. Through his Western Newspaper Union syndicate, Perry supplies canned news and features, familiarly known as boiler plate, to the country press on a scale that makes him one of the most powerful newspaper bosses *in* the world. Perry is the king of boiler plate.

Assembly-line news. Were Perry to design for himself a representative coat of arms, that glowing shield could properly display a linotype machine rampant over a prone country editor. Perry's news comes off his assembly lines written, edited, linotyped, and even cast in lead, complete for distribution to 6,000 weeklies, including 1,404 *News* (the Columbia Falls, Missouri, *Hungry Horse News* being the 1,404th), 654 *Heralds*, 450 *Journals*, 311 *Tribunes*, 288 *Enterprises*, 238 *Democrats*, 217 *Leaders*, 198 *Republicans*, 46 *Echoes*, 45 *Eagles*, 36 *Indexes*, 34 *Mirrors*, 29 *New Eras*, 28 *Bees*, 27 *Signals*, 26 *Pilots*, 18 *Headlights*, 18 *Patriots*, 18 *Chiefs*, 17 *Blades*, 17 *Breezes*, 16 *Plain Dealers* and one lone *Unterrified Democrat*.

Few are the services which the mighty Perry empire, with its attendant merchandising dominions, will not render the rural weekly. But of these perhaps Perry's most important contribution has been to relieve the country editor of the irksome function of editing.

As an added assistance to grass-roots independence, Perry will, for a consideration, sell rural editors paper with WNU news already printed on it. This service takes the form of an eight-page newspaper, WNU material being printed on pages two, three, five and seven, the other four pages being left blank for news to be inserted by local publishers. Perry's "Ready-print" newspaper, delivered weekly to 2,400 publishers, comes complete with advertisements of cough drops and Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, and at a cost, according to the WNU, "slightly over" that of the raw newsprint. Without the ads, the cost is higher. Some country editors restrain their enthusiasm for the Ready-print service on complicated grounds involving commissions and lineage rates. However, they much prefer taking Perry's preprinted service to going without any paper whatever, or having to buy raw newsprint elsewhere at black-market prices as high as $230 a ton—the open-market price currently running at $90 a ton. "Hell, it's something to fill up a hole in the paper, anyway," an editor remarked of the WNU service.

To help fill up that hole, the WNU maintains 35 branch offices throughout the country, its main editorial offices being located in a squat, five-story loft building on Chicago's Desplaines Avenue. In this haven of rusticity, overlooking flophouses and honky-tonks, WNU toilers collect and edit comic strips, pictures, news, dress patterns,

advice to the lovelorn, gossip columns and, most popular of all, a Sunday-school lesson written by a Moody Bible Institute preacher.

Contrary to some accounts, the WNU does not syndicate prepared editorials for editors too fatigued to write their own. This helpful service is largely undertaken by organizations like the National Association of Manufacturers and E. Hofer's *Industrial News Review*, the latter being subsidized by private utilities. Since the WNU does not give away anything free, such competitive handouts are not looked on with favor within the Perry empire. During presidential-election years, however, the WNU does circularize its clients, asking whether they wish to receive Democratic or Republican National Committee publicity boiler plate, which the WNU then distributes for a tolerable fee.

Perry indignantly denies any imputation that WNU news is slanted one way or the other, and WNU writers, carefully chosen for their small-town outlook, have been known to use no more than two or three publicity handouts each week. "We have to serve Democrats *and* Republicans," remarked David Magowan, general manager of the WNU. "My God, if we stepped out of line, we'd go broke."

Unspiced tidbits. The WNU's cautious appraisal of the news extends all the way down to its fillers, the scraps of type which editors use to round out a full column. "The armored catfish does not have ordinary scales, but rather overlapping armor plates," a WNU filler will remark firmly, looking neither to Right nor Left. "The fish, good scavengers, lay eggs in bubble-nests in plants at the surface of the water."

The same attitude holds on foreign news. "'Adolf' No Longer Ranks as Popular Name for Babies," observes a typical WNU headline over a Berlin dispatch.

WNU clients, of course, are not bound to any particular set of features. The weekly editor is offered the choice of any combination of features he chooses, including nationally known columnists. So wide is the range of

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choice in columnists that WNU clients may begin as far to the Left as Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell, working through Baukhage, H. I. Phillips and Wright A. Patterson, a former WNU editor-in-chief who writes a conservative column called "Grassroots," to Westbrook Pegler. Other columnists like Samuel Grafton, Harold Ickes, Dorothy Thompson, Marquis Childs or Frank Kingdon apparently are not appropriate for small-town consumption. "We used to run Mrs. Roosevelt," said Magowan, "but she died on our clients."

The simple approach. From the weekly outpourings of each of the chosen columnists, the WNU selects what it thinks will be most fitting for rural audiences. "Take Winchell, for example," explained a WNU editor. "He has a lot of names that don't mean anything to our people. We edit that out." Nothing too controversial is allowed to mar the soothing contentment of WNU copy. Simplicity is the keynote. Thus Paul Mallon, another columnist, was able to remark recently to WNU readers in his simple, homely manner:

". . . While the coming few months may appear to the public as a stalemated hiatus of unspectacular developments, we have merely pierced the superficialities and come to the real issue. . . . This may be said to be the official viewpoint [diplomatic denials to the contrary notwithstanding]."

Material being as important as meaning, Perry engages in the merchandising not only of news but of mechanical equipment. The WNU maintains 18 job-stock offices which sell the country editor job-printing paper, type and machinery. To ensure a printing-paper supply, Perry owns two job houses, the Midwest Paper Company, in Topeka, Kansas, and E. C. Palmer & Company, Ltd., with branches in New Orleans, Houston, Dallas and Tampa. He also controls two printing-machinery-supply houses—in San Francisco, Seattle and Los Angeles through the Harry W. Brintnall Company; in Dallas, Texas, with the Lance Company.

A WNU salesman dropping in on a country editor to sell him Westbrook Pegler is apt to pitch in and help when the press breaks down, perhaps selling a Perry wrench for the purpose. If the press seems in bad shape, he may sell the editor a new Perry press; failing that, the salesman may persuade him to buy some high-grade Perry paste and glue, a Perry oiling can or, as a last resort, a Perry fire extinguisher.

As a result, many of the poorer country editors, who support themselves mainly by job printing or even by selling eggs on the side, are considerably in debt to Perry. Perry does not seem to mind. He sees himself as their defender. "If it weren't for us," he said recently, "a lot of those people wouldn't be in business. We're more responsible for freedom of the press in this country than any other outfit."

If a country editor finds himself without a press, Perry will print his whole issue for him, for a fee. To Perry, nothing is unprofitable. Besides making stereotype mats for the Democratic and Republican National Committees, his WNU also prepares commercially mats and plates for the Treasury and Army bond and recruiting campaigns, for the Associated Press wirephoto service, the motion-picture industry and any other organization requiring such services.

Goodwill boiler plate. As a distributor, the WNU will send this material around to country editors for a further fee. As a commercial printer, the WNU makes out quite decently by printing a number of trade magazines, including *Tide,* an advertising weekly, the *American Vocational Journal, Hotel Bulletin, Scholastic Coach* and *Public Works Magazine.* Perry's merchandising business has grown to such a volume—it has doubled in the last nine years—that his Ready-print service for country editors constitutes only about 15 percent of the WNU's annual business. Perry now considers his Ready-print service as merely a sideline which he continues only as "goodwill," a convenient *entrée* to firmer business. "We concentrate on merchandising," he observes briefly.

Further to bolster a free and independent country press, Perry owns the American Press Association, an organization which for a 13.5-percent cut acts as advertising representative. The APA also adds other commissions, with the total frequently reaching 30 percent. This has occasioned some bewilderment on the part of several country editors, and moved one ex-Marine who recently bought two Illinois weeklies to remark, upon receiving a contract from the APA: "It was the damnedest thing I ever saw. . . . I sent it back and told them I didn't ask for their contract and didn't want it. A little later they sent me an ad for Army recruiting, with so much commission taken off that it didn't pay me to run it. . . . I'm going to refigure my national advertising rates for myself." Perry executives insist, however, that they subtract as little commission as possible from the operation.

Some critics of Perry have pointed to a possible danger in common ownership of a news-producing and advertising organization. To Perry, this doesn't make sense. "There's absolutely no connection between APA and WNU except that I control both," he says somewhat indignantly.

In this respect, the connection between editorial and advertising matter, as shown in a letter sent in February, 1946, by former Representative Roy Clippinger of Illinois, an APA official, to Holcombe Parkes, vice-president and public-relations director of the National Association of Manufacturers, was possibly fortuitous. At the time, Clippinger, besides being a Republican Representative and the publisher of the Carmi, Illinois, *Democrat-Tribune,* was chairman of the Greater Weeklies, a division of the APA representing some 200 well established and wealthy weeklies.

Not enough gravy. Fifteen days after the NAM began a million-dollar daily newspaper advertising campaign to eliminate the OPA, Clippinger bitterly complained that the Greater Weeklies were not getting a proper share of the gravy. "The Greater Weeklies," wrote Clippinger to the NAM, "have consistently backed up your programs and the principles for which the NAM has stood. They have

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consistently used excerpts from your *Industrial Press Service* and have backed you editorially. . . . We have given cheerfully [of our news columns]. . . . Our papers are carefully read and are respected by members of Congress in determining the public opinion of our constituency. . . . I want to express my keen disappointment in the omission of so many of our member newspapers from your . . . national advertising schedule. . . ."

Such is the elastic nature of the Perry empire that while one APA division cuddled up to the National Association of Manufacturers, another APA division could at the same time, and with considerable aplomb, decry and denounce these very tactics. An APA-owned publishers' trade journal called the *American Press* makes a special point of urging weekly editors not to accept free publicity or to submit to advertising pressure. Fortunately, this stern attitude does not prevent the *American Press* from running a large number of full-page institutional advertisements by such organizations as "America's *business*-managed, tax-paying Electric Light and Power Companies," the US Brewers' Foundation, the New York Stock Exchange, the Bituminous Coal Institute ("Company-operated stores, wherever located, have rendered valuable service to the miners' families"), the Association of American Railroads, the Standard Oil Company and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, almost all of them offering local editors loads of free publicity.

Neither could the rustic uprightness of the *American Press* on advertising pressure deter another section of the APA from sending out, during the steel strike of 1946, the following letter to Perry clients:

February 1, 1946

Mr. Publisher:

Now that we have succeeded in selling the steel industry on the wholesome and powerful influence of the rural press, it is up to the publishers to KEEP THEM SOLD.

The future of steel advertising in weekly newspapers depends upon how you handle it. We have told the steel officials that by sending out authentic information to the people who live in the rural towns . . . they can build up invaluable goodwill. . . . We are counting on you to give them all the support that your good judgment dictates.

This is your chance to show the steel people what the rural press can do for them. Go to it, and pave the way for more national advertising. . . . Please be sure to send [the APA] full tear page of any release or editorial you may publish. They will be shown to the steel executives.

Yours for more business. . . .

With this ingenious letter, the APA conveniently attached a "suggested editorial" (suggested, apparently, by the American Iron and Steel Institute) attacking the steel strikers and demanding congressional action against them. The APA also enclosed a sample "news item," date-lined Washington and beginning:

"From every section of the country, farm leaders are directing protests to the nation's capital over the threat of food production which looms . . . as a result of the steel strike. . . ."

The entire correspondence was subsequently published, in a fit of umbrage, by A. J. Bennett, of The Dalles, Oregon, *Optimist*. The only reply eventually to come from the APA was another broadside by the *American Press* against the use of free handouts. John Perry shakes his head in honest bewilderment when informed of the affair.

KISSIMMEE GAZETTE - PALM BEACH TIMES - MELBOURNE TIMES - PENSACOLA NEWS - JACKSONVILLE JOURNAL - OCALA STAR BANNER - LAKE CITY REPORTER - DELRAY BEACH NEWS - GADSE
COUNTY TIMES - PALMETTO NEWS - AVON PARK SUN -
LINOTYPE
PERRY
PERRY
PERRY
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EDIT OR
PERRY
Doty

DRAWINGS BY DOTY

Greener fields. Perry himself probably is too busy developing other outposts of empire to concern himself with such relatively minor details of procedure. For the past few years he has been busy buying up newspapers in the South—26 of them to date—including 10 dailies and 16 weeklies. To round out the field, he has also gained control of six radio stations, including two FM outlets programmed independently of their 50,000-watt parent stations.

A genial character is Perry—stumpy, florid, gray-haired and talkative. His tie, streaked with garish colors, has the appearance of having been trailed in

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an oil slick off the East River docks. He likes to sit at a card table in his rented Palm Beach house and shuffle newspaper properties around like a pinochle deck. Perry took a fancy to Palm Beach. To keep his mind from wandering during the winter sojourns there, he recently made a little deal to buy up the Palm Beach *Times* and the Palm Beach *Post,* two properties which he picked up from an ex-gambler and his partner for a cool million. "Took 'em over, reorganized 'em. Last year, made $300,000!" Perry remarked with a nudge of his listener's arm. "I'll pay back my investment in five years."

Highwayman. Perry has a habit of nudging people, particularly those who accompany him on his walks. "Never bought a property [nudge] that wasn't broken down [nudge] except for Palm Beach," Perry will gasp as he scuttles along. "Never bought a weekly in any town that had competition [nudge]—except one!" Unable to batter his hearer's arm across a lunch table, Perry contents himself with seizing nearby cutlery and fiercely slashing his knife into the prongs of his fork as he talks. Steering the conversation to the subject of his 3,000-acre farm in Kentucky, or the highway problem, is apt to calm him down, but only slightly.

Perry will talk for hours on the subject of highways. He keeps building them all over Florida, often paying for the right-of-way himself. "That's the kind of good I believe in," he says. "More schools, more churches—not much of a church man myself, but I've rebuilt several churches . . . don't give a damn what kind of church, as long as it's a church. Better highways! I want to do good. I've never tried to reach for the stars—I'm realistic. They call me a rich man, but I've no power to do anything my conscience tells me is wrong." When he says such things, Perry speaks with very evident sincerity. Asked in what political context he wants his ideas to be put into force, he says disgustedly: "I'm not interested in politics."

A few minutes later, Perry will be talking offhandedly of electing the Governor in the state of Florida. "We hold the balance of power," he says of his Florida newspapers. "The man we back gets in." According to Perry, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida was once a Perry protégé. Pepper, he says, appeared in his office after Perry inserted an ad labeled, "WANTED: U.S. SENATOR," in his Jacksonville *Journal.* Pepper and Perry together fought for the north Florida canal over the opposition of the railroad companies. "The railroads hate me," says Perry comfortably. (Happily, this cool relationship does not deter the Association of American Railroads from inserting well paying anti-union advertisements in Perry's *American Press.*) As for Pepper, he has finally fallen from grace. "An opportunist," Perry observes. He doesn't know who will be the next Governor of Florida. "I haven't made up my mind yet," he says.

By now, Perry is so rich that he is unable to remember just what he owns. "I once figured that I pay about $3,000 a day in income taxes," he says, fiddling with his door keys. As a rule, he does not bother to visit his outlying properties, and gives his editors, who carefully watch the Jacksonville *Journal* for minor changes in the Perry line, only general policy instructions. Since the Jacksonville *Journal* usually takes its strongest stand on drunken driving, Florida as a coming state, and of course, Petrillo, the task of following the boss's editorial pattern is considered somewhat less than nerve-wracking. One of the reasons for Perry's reluctance to visit his outposts is their sheer number. "If I stayed only four days on each property it would take me a year to complete the rounds," he explains. "I'd never stop traveling."

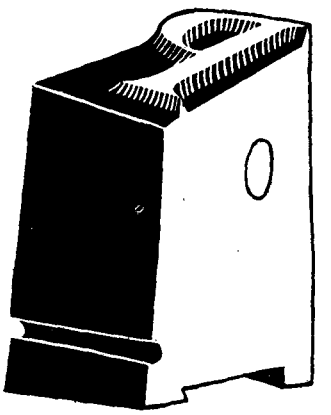
John Holliday Perry is gradually giving over more of this sort of work to his two sons, John Jr. and Farwell, both vice-presidents of Perry enterprises. One of their jobs is to track down such half-forgotten Perry properties as the American Kaolin Company, which turned out to be supplying some ingredient for toothpaste.

Perry's sons are now busily experimenting with a new process, involving the use of flexible magnesium plates and self-justifying typewriters, which renders stereotyping and linotyping machines obsolete in the production of country weeklies. Perry Sr. anticipates some union trouble if the process gets into general use and puts typographers out of work, but he has few qualms. "I believe," he will observe thoughtfully, "that all these advances are preordained by God. He's just testing us."

Cheerful monopolist. Perry is equally cheerful about the steady decline of competition among weekly newspapers. "You know," he remarked the other day, "there are very few competing papers in towns under 100,000, and I believe it's a good thing.

"Why, if there's just one newspaper in a small town, it's apt to be wealthy enough to withstand pressure from advertisers. But when you have competition, one paper is always much the weaker. That's when the editor begins pulling news stories to suit the taste of advertisers—in fact, when he gets weak, he *has* to, to survive." This statement is historic, in a way, being probably the first time in the history of American journalism that a press lord indicated even the slightest possibility that any newspaper is not thoroughly immune to advertising pressure.

For Perry, the basic job for the weekly editor today is a problem of self—"to put more brain and more heart into his business. If a man's business is to make money, he's not worth a damn." A visitor recently asked Perry what he thought of himself. "Oh," Perry burst out, slapping his thigh in glee, "just like any other man—a *hell* of a lot!"



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HOW PEACE LOOKS TO THE RUSSIANS

by Alexander Kendrick

MOSCOW *(by wireless)*

WHEN the Council of Foreign Ministers convenes in London on November 25, no people in the world will follow the proceedings with more interest than will the Russians. And none will watch with more apprehension.

It is no secret that the average Russian had hoped for an easier life when hostilities ended and fascism was defeated—not only easier in a physical sense but also freer from mental strain and anxiety.

There was a very good chance for this natural desire to be realized if the wartime unity of the great powers had continued. But it has not continued. Relations with the West are at a new low. The road that seemed to have opened up at Teheran came to a dead end at Hiroshima.

It is not that the Russians fear the physical nature of war. They have, after all, known it and survived it in first-hand terms of which the average American has no concept, and they believe they would survive it again. They do not seem to be afraid of the atom bomb. A recent popular booklet on the subject of atomic energy, published in an edition of 200,000 for newsstand sale, made less of the explosive effects of the Nagasaki bomb than of the fact that in a prison 800 meters from the point of the bomb's greatest impact, "of the 211 prisoners only 31 were killed."

The West's fault? Russian apprehension does not derive from the bomb but from the irresponsibility that may lead to its being thrown. Wherever this ultimate irresponsibility may lie, there is no masking the disappointment felt here at the present lack of international understanding.

And the Russians believe the West is principally at fault. They claim they were perfectly willing to live at peace in a world that also contained capitalism, but they do not think that the US, after Roosevelt's death, was also willing to live and let live.

The Truman Doctrine—which Russians regard as an offensive undertaken by Western capitalism, not only against communism as such but also against European socialism and the idea of state planning in general—has therefore helped revive the prewar feeling of "capitalist encirclement" and brought back into general circulation the fundamentalist phrases about imperialism, "bourgeois democracy," colonialism and class conflict which now fill one's eyes and ears.

DRAWING BY GOLDEN

Meanwhile the Soviet diplomatic counter-offensive against the US has gone into action not only in the UN Security Council and General Assembly, but also in such a way as to affect Europe as a whole and Russia's internal politics as well.

One of its first fruits was this year's network of treaties and economic agreements made with the countries of Eastern Europe, and by these countries among themselves. Another was the formation of the one-party "Cominform" organization at Belgrade under the slogan, "Against imperialism; for peace, for democracy."

Inside the Soviet Union there has been a growing campaign for "vigilance," for "guarding of state secrets" and against any "survivals of capitalist mentality."

Disillusionment. As in the case of the war threat, what is involved in Russia's present attitude is not fear of the West but rather suspicion of it—disillusionment. There are tenacious efforts to talk down Western influence, as shown by the present movement in literature, and to demonstrate the superiority of the Soviet man and the Soviet system over "bourgeois decadence." In this reëmphasis of differences between the Soviet Union and the West, attention is paid to "Soviet socialism." Stalin's famous *Short Course in the History of the Communist Party,* of which some 12 million copies have already been published, is being faithfully reread.

But in all the criticism of the West, in all the polemics against it, a very careful distinction is made between, on the one hand, the "imperialists" and "warmongers," and, on the other hand, the forces which are believed still to be "for peace and for democracy." Socialist leaders may be condemned, but the condemnation does not extend to the rank and file of their parties. Bevin and Attlee may be regarded as traitors to Labor Party principles, but Zilliacus and his group of anti-Bevin MP's are received by Stalin at Sochi.

Litvinov and the League. In the present splitting of the world into "two camps" which the Belgrade declaration has now affirmed, the Russians seem to believe sincerely that their analysis of the struggle between "imperialism" and "anti-imperialism" is correct. They argue that the main object of Western capitalism is no longer to defeat fascism but merely to preserve capitalism, and that the Russian "anti-imperialist" point of view is ultimately bound to prevail. They remember that the League of Nations ignored Litvinov and contend that in the end history proved Litvinov and not the League to be right.

So it is with Vishinsky before the UN. His speeches are those of a man who intends to fight it out on that line if it takes forever. There is no implication in anything the Soviet Union says or does that suggests to Russians that the USSR would leave the UN even if it were reorganized. Once again it should be remembered from League of Nations history that when the Soviet

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Union left that body, the League became even weaker than before.

The UN not only offers a continuing chance for the Soviet Union to present its point of view, but there is no reason for believing that the point of view does not have considerable effect. In spite of US and British opposition, it would be difficult to say that the Russians are not right on a good many of the issues discussed. It looks so from here and no Soviet citizen doubts that his delegation at Lake Success has scored a moral victory more than once, even though the votes may have been against it.

Moreover, if the State Department strategists believe that the UN Assembly is a good place to get the realities of international relationships out into the open, the Russians think so too. They believe that in the debate on Greece and the Balkan question, "American imperialism" plainly exposed itself. They also believe that their charges that the UN has become an "American voting machine" have been corroborated by events.

In any case it is evident that the Russians intend to stick it out, and that they are depending not only on their ability to demonstrate their own brief, but also on the essential contradictions which they are sure make capitalism a giant with feet of clay.

The whole truth. That Russian spokesmen who attend the London meeting of foreign ministers will be fully prepared for continuation of the struggle on the German question, can be taken for granted. Vishinsky has been developing a New York counter-offensive. The Russians usually have longer views on such things than their Anglo-Saxon colleagues, and they do not seem to think that the London meeting will bring the end of the world.

But the basic problem of mutual willingness to coöperate, especially between the Soviet Union and the US, remains as apparently insoluble as ever. The Russians feel comfortably blameless for the impasse. "Whatever you say," declared a Soviet friend of mine, "the truth is on our side. Even Roosevelt had only half the truth. The whole truth is with us."

SALESMEN OF HATE

Some of the busiest Americans in the country are those who specialize in peddling anti-Semitism to the ignorant

by Bruce Bliven

ANTI-SEMITISM is of many kinds and is exercised at various levels in the community. Probably most serious of all is the unspoken hostility to the Jews and to other minorities which exists as a cold pogrom among the middle class.

Another area of importance centers around those individuals who associate their names publicly with anti-Semitism—leaders of reactionary groups and people who attack the Jews in print, in speeches or on the air. They are of less importance at a time like this, between wars and between depressions; but if hard times return, or if mounting war hysteria reaches a really dangerous pitch, they could become serious indeed.

Even within this group, people function at different levels. Most influential of all are those in responsible positions, like Representative John E. Rankin (D, Miss.) and the late Senator Bilbo; not only are their anti-Semitic remarks on the floor of Congress carried as news by the press, but they seem to supply moral authority for similar anti-Semitism on the part of millions of little people.

Next in importance are the widely syndicated writers and the radio speakers, who discuss a multitude of subjects and betray prejudice only incidentally, perhaps at intervals of many months or even years. These individuals, also, help to make anti-minority attitudes seem respectable, since they are held by well known and successful persons who command a large audience.

Finally we come to the professionals. They earn their living, or part of it, by peddling this sort of poison to people who are at a low cultural and intellectual level. They solicit funds to help carry on their crusades and circulate in substantial numbers their seemingly factual and detailed allegations about the "misdeeds" of minority groups.

This is the second in a series of New Republic articles on the manifestations and causes of anti-Semitism in the United States today.

These spreaders of doctrines closely paralleling those of Hitler are for the most part remarkable for the unanimity of their views. The only real schism among them is on the Catholic issue. Many of them follow the line of the Ku Klux Klan, with its demand for Nordic Protestant supremacy and its bitter hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. But there is also a Catholic wing to the movement, which overlaps with the Protestant group as regards opposition to communism, Jews and Negroes.

Secret conclaves. Many of the disseminators of poison work closely together. Some of them confer from time to time at meetings, most of which are supposed to be secret. Their publications quote extensively from one another. They advertise one another's magazines, pamphlets and books, and sell them at their meetings. There is good reason to believe that some of them obtain financial support from common sources.

Gerald L. K. Smith is one of the most active of the ultra-nationalist anti-Semitic propagandists. Smith is a former fundamentalist preacher and one-time friend of the late Huey Long, the late Gene Talmadge, of Father Coughlin and William Dudley Pelley.

Smith's magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*, established in March, 1942, recently claimed a circulation of 12,000, and his special news service provides material for other ultra-nationalist, isolationist and anti-minority periodicals. When the Department of Justice indicted 33 persons for conspiracy to undermine the morale of

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the armed forces, *The Cross and the Flag* was named as one of the vehicles through which they spread their propaganda. Smith has been busy in the efforts to launch an all-embracing nationalist-isolationist movement and has called, or participated in, several conventions for that purpose.

A gang of killers. When Smith is heckled in public meetings, as he frequently is, he does not hesitate, regardless of the facts, to attack the heckler as a Jew and tell him to "go back to your friend, Joe Stalin." On January 15, 1947, he sent out a circular appealing for funds to his "dear Christian American friends" and promised to send those who responded with money a free copy of the first section of the vicious book, *The International Jew*, originally published by Henry Ford.

Riotous disturbances have taken place at a number of Smith's public meetings. Typical of his comment on these occasions is what he said after one such incident at a meeting at the Morrison Hotel in Chicago: "The disturbances, I am convinced, were caused by a gang of Communist killers and Jewish terrorists . . . chained up [*sic*] with a worldwide organization."

Somewhat similarly, the late Henry Ford did enormous damage a quarter of a century ago by his campaign of hatred for the Jews, disseminated through his magazine, the *Dearborn Independent,* and in other ways. Few if any anti-Semites prior to that time had indulged in his practice of circulating widely printed accusations against the Jews, such as the spurious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," and no one else thus far has had as much money as Ford was able to spend on his efforts. He pioneered in a pattern that has since been followed by dozens of less famous men.

Ford finally dropped his campaign, after the Ford Motor Company had been boycotted by many important potential customers, and made a public retraction and apology. Whether he ever actually changed his views, I do not know, and I doubt whether anyone can be sure. In recent years, I should add, the Ford Company, first in the hands of Edsel Ford and then in those of the grandson, Henry Ford II, has tried to make amends for the harm done by the founder. It does not discriminate in employment, and has contributed substantial sums to organized efforts to diminish racial and religious intolerance in this country.

Is the Pope Jewish? Gerald B. Winrod, a fundamentalist preacher of Wichita, Kansas, follows a pattern similar to that of Smith. His paper, the *Defender,* in August, 1946, claimed a circulation of 100,000. He was one of those indicted by the federal government on charges of undermining the morale of the US armed forces. (The indictments were afterwards dismissed because of "lack of diligence"—as the court expressed it—on the part of the Department of Justice in prosecuting the case.) Winrod once said that Hitler, in "ridding his country of 200,000 Communistic Jews," was "being made to praise God in the fulfilment of prophecy." (A favorite trick of the American anti-Semites is greatly to underestimate the number of Jews killed by the Nazis, a number actually in excess of six million, and to ignore or deny the dreadful record of humiliation and torture which accompanied this orgy of mass murder.)

Winrod also said the kidnaping of the Lindbergh baby was a Jewish-Communist plot. Like many other American anti-Semites, he reported that President Roosevelt was partly Jewish, but added a touch of novelty by making the same statement about the Pope. He called the Talmud a "vile and unspeakably terrible code." His magazine has advertised numerous pieces of anti-Semitic propaganda, including the Henry Ford articles in the *Dearborn Independent* and the book, *Termites,* by Harvey Springer.

"Anti-Gentilism." Merwin K. Hart of New York is president of the National Economic Council, formerly the

UPTON CLOSE GERALD B. WINROD MERWIN K. HART FATHER ARTHUR W. TERMINIELLO GERALD L. K. SMITH

DRAWINGS BY BEN SHAHN

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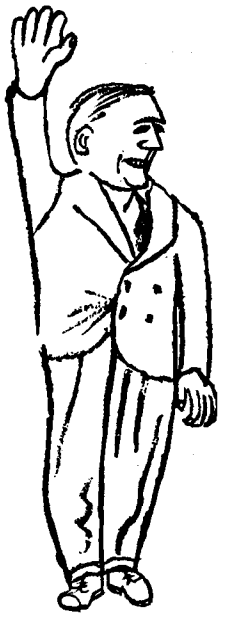


JOHN O'DONNELL

New York State Economic Council. Hart is a stern opponent of communism and an enthusiastic defender of Franco Spain; in fact, one of his assistants was convicted in 1943 of being an unregistered Franco agent. For some time, Hart paid for nationwide broadcasts by Upton Close (Josef Washington Hall), discussed below.

Hart does a good deal of talking about "aliens" who have "infested" our schools and colleges and have become lecturers and radio commentators. He once remarked that "our Frankfurters seek control of us. . . . There is a nameless cabal which shapes our policies despite its cries of 'democracy'."

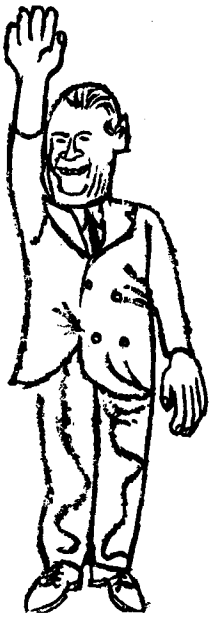
Hart published a list of 81 well known Americans and said the country would be ruined if their advice were taken; by an odd coincidence, 72 of them were Jews, including such outstanding individuals as Stephen Wise, Henry Morgenthau Jr., Paul Warburg and Albert Einstein. Hart insists that there is little anti-Semitism in the United States but that "anti-Gentilism" is rampant. When the Ives-Quinn anti-discrimination bill was up for consideration in the New York state legislature, he tried to prevent its passage on the ground that it was just an attempt by the Communists to stir up trouble; he also fought similar bills in other states. Hart has opposed the 40-hour week, unemployment insurance, federal housing, and federal legislation against child labor. During the depression he wanted all citizens on relief to be prohibited from voting.

"We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Inc.," is one of several organizations with similar names. Although they carry a vague aura of being composed of mothers whose sons were killed in action, or at least of mothers of present or former servicemen, some of these groups have no requirement for membership except motherhood, and, in certain cases, not even that.

At a national convention of "We, the Mothers," anti-Semitic literature has been distributed, including one remarkable statement apparently implying that Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York is Jewish. This document reported that he had risen from cantor in a Jewish synagogue to aspirant for the presidency of the United States.

Hisses of hatred. Westbrook Pegler, the widely syndicated conservative newspaper columnist, is one who displays anti-minority prejudice only infrequently, but is frank when he does. He wrote a remarkable article in his daily column for August 14, 1947. "Mostly, I think," said Pegler, "the true feeling of those who hiss 'race hatred' as a political catchword is not noble 'democracy' of spirit but envy and the hatefulness of him who feels somehow inferior.

"We hear the accusation made against stately and aloof Americans by persons who reveal their own shame of race . . . by adopting English, Irish or Scotch names," Pegler went on. He omitted to mention that many of these "stately and aloof Americans" cheerfully join the tacit conspiracy to deny to those who "feel somehow inferior" equal opportunity for education, employment, housing or recreation, and thereby cause some of them, in despair, to adopt English, Irish or Scottish names. "Even the preaching and propagation of racial hatred," Pegler continued, "is not un-American. . . . White people like to be white."



WESTBROOK PEGLER

Another influential columnist, John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News*, on October 2, 1945, wrote in his column about the criticism of the late General George S. Patton, who, in an army hospital in Sicily, slapped an American soldier suffering from battle fatigue. O'Donnell said that the criticism of General Patton was stirred up by "the secret and astoundingly effective might of this Republic's foreign-born political leaders such as Justice of the Supreme Court Felix Frankfurter, of Vienna, White House administrative assistant Dave (Devious Dave) Niles, alias Neyhus, and the Latvian ex-rabbinical student now known as Sidney Hillman. . . . The soldier who got slapped was of Jewish descent. . . . The racial issue . . . was suppressed."

Much earlier, in December, 1938, O'Donnell wrote an 11-column article in the *Daily News* (an almost unparalleled length in that tabloid paper) on Jews in the United States Government, consisting largely of a reprint of a pamphlet by William Dudley Pelley.

When the *Daily News* applied to the Federal Communications Commission for a license to erect an FM broadcasting station in New York City, the American Jewish Congress protested this action on the ground that the *Daily News* was guilty of anti-Jewish and anti-Negro prejudice. After an earlier tentatively favorable decision, the FCC on November 4, 1947, re-

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fused the license. At the same time, it withdrew from the record the voluminous testimony presented by the American Jewish Congress—a compromise action of a sort thoroughly familiar in Washington. Commissioner Durr objected to removing the AJC evidence from the record.

Dagger men. Upton Close, writer and intermittent radio columnist, was on the air for some time as spokesman for Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council. While Close's radio comment was not openly anti-Semitic, I am told that discriminatory material has been circulated by him through the mails to people who wrote to him for copies of his broadcasts. In his magazine, *Closer-Ups,* Close wrote that "the Jewish community" was employed by "Communist conspirators" as "Gestapo and dagger men."

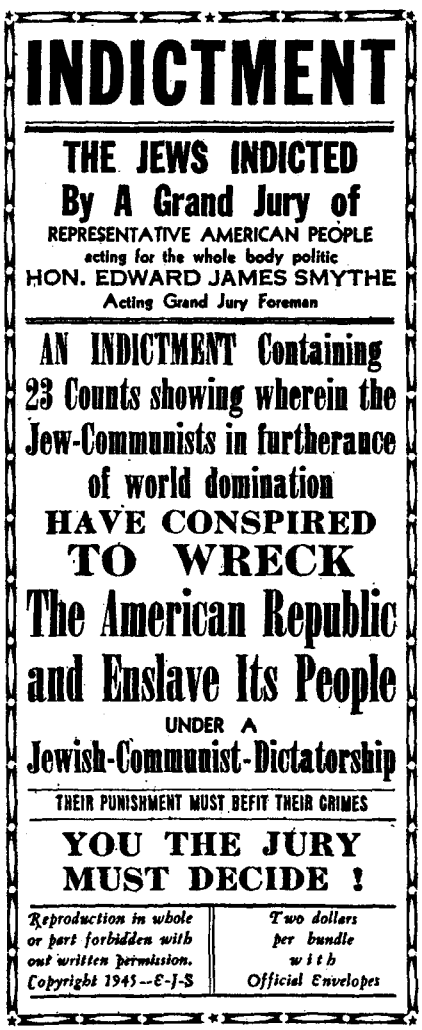
Father Arthur W. Terminiello, a Catholic priest from Alabama, has been active in the past as an anti-Semitic propagandist. Like Winrod, he denied that the Nazis killed millions of Jews; he says this is impossible, because there were only 694,000 Jews in Germany and Austria combined, before the war. At one time he toured with Gerald L. K. Smith, speaking from the same platform.

Because of his political activities, Father Terminiello was suspended from his active duties as a priest by Bishop T. J. Toolen of Mobile, Alabama. He has now been reinstated on a promise that he will put an end to his hate-mongering.

Suspicious jurist. Quite possibly more important than any of the individuals mentioned above is a man of whom you very likely never heard, since this article is, so far as I know, the first statement to the general public of his activities. He is 80-year-old Judge George W. Armstrong, who has actually set up a foundation to spread anti-Semitism and allied doctrines.

On his death, this new "Judge Armstrong Foundation" will get half his fortune; opinions differ as to just how large that fortune is, estimates ranging from a comparatively small amount up to $4 million. In the meantime the Judge himself is spending plenty on discriminatory propaganda, and, possessing what might be called a suspicious nature, has set aside in his will a special fund of $50,000 to be used, in case he should die under peculiar circumstances, to track down and prosecute those who may have poisoned, shot or strangled him.

The Judge spent most of his life in Texas and has now moved to Natchez, Mississippi; he has large cotton-plantation interests in that area. In Texas his busy life included activities as lawyer, county judge, banker, cotton exporter, flour miller, rancher and operator in steel and oil. The Judge Armstrong Foundation has a charter which is on file at Austin, Texas, and which says modestly that it is to be devoted to general charitable, patriotic and educational purposes. I am told that the foundation is tax-exempt.



COVER OF A "PATRIOTIC BULLETIN"

Judge Armstrong is not content to disseminate the ideas of other people; he is also the author of several books and pamphlets of his own, one of which was barred from the mails a few years ago. He has an interesting group of ideas which he sets forth vigorously and at great length. He says that Jewish firms control the riches of the world and are responsible for panics, depressions and wars. Specifically, he thinks the House of Rothschild owns half of all existing wealth and must be blamed for the gold standard, to which the Judge objects. The Rothschilds, he says, established the Bank of England, and controlled it. They were also responsible for the Federal Reserve System in the United States (through Paul Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb and Company).

A precious crew. The "Jew Communists," Armstrong also contends, wanted and needed Pearl Harbor, and presumably maneuvered to bring it about. Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt are all characterized as "hybrid Jews," and even President Truman had a "Jewish partner" in his haberdashery. The United Nations is just a Zionist-controlled scheme for world empire. Roosevelt was also a Communist, and under the thumb of other Jewish Communists, especially Mr. Justice Frankfurter, Judge Rosenman and Henry Morgenthau Jr.

Armstrong is in close contact with other American anti-Semites, notably Gerald L. K. Smith. The Judge uses the Babcock Publishing Company of Fort Worth, Texas, and Smith has recently arranged to move his publication, *The Cross and the Flag,* from Detroit to Fort Worth. Smith has also visited Armstrong at his plantation outside Natchez.

The harm that can be done when Judge Armstrong's money becomes fully available for the purposes of the salesmen of hate needs no underlining.

What are the myths about the Jews which are spread so assiduously by this precious crew? What are the details of their charges, and what degree of truth do any of them possess? These questions will be answered in the next article in this series.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

EXAMINATION OF FREEDOM

by James R. Newman

TWICE BEFORE in American history, write the draftsmen of this magnificent report, the nation found it necessary to review the state of its civil rights. The first time, during the 15 years between 1776 and 1791, culminated in the writing of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The fruits of the second, "when the Union was temporarily sundered over the question of whether it could exist 'half-slave' and 'half-free'," were the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to our Constitution, abolishing slavery, enjoining the states to due process of law, extending the right of suffrage to all citizens of the United States, white or black. "It is our profound conviction," says the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "that we have come to a time for a third reëxamination of the situation, and a sustained drive ahead. Our reasons for believing this are those of conscience, of self-interest and of survival in a threatening world."

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS: The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Introduction by the chairman of the committee, Charles E. Wilson (U. S. Government Printing Office; $1. Simon and Schuster; $1).

The committee's report, "To Secure These Rights," is a mirror for Americans, a mirror which reveals without distortion what we are and what we yet can be. But it is more than that. For those who cherish liberty, freedom and forbearance; for those sickened by the sight of reaction riding the land; for those who feel alone and for those who are afraid, here is a noble reaffirmation of the principles that made America. Here is a program loftily conceived and brilliantly set forth. Here is a code of objectives, a manual of weapons and remedies to arrest the "moral dry rot which eats away at the emotional and rational bases of democratic beliefs."

In the summer of 1920, Charles Evans Hughes, in an address before the Harvard Law alumni, uttered views to which the events of our time give an ominous and prophetic quality. "We may well wonder," he said with deep concern, "in view of the precedents now established, whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged." We may well wonder, indeed, as we now survey the panorama of chicanery, deception, hate, brutality and other forms of sadistic evil inflicted on millions of Americans who happen to be black, Catholic, Jew, Mexican, Japanese, or merely different, without bearing any of the foregoing "stigmata."

In what ways does our present record fall short of the "historic civil-rights goal of the American people?" The report, written by angry men and women—justly angry—gives the answer. Free of quibble, of compromise, of euphemisms, of dainty platitudes, of hypocritical pretenses, here is the appalling catalogue.

Real subversion. "Too many of our people still live under the harrowing fear of violence or death at the hands of a mob or of brutal treatment by police officers." In no year since 1882 has the US been free of lynching. In 1946 there were at least six mob victims. The record for 1947 is incomplete, but it is already marked in the calendar of infamy for the acquittal, in South Carolina, of the 31 who killed Willie Earle; for the killing by Georgia prison guards of eight Negro prisoners allegedly attempting to escape; for the numberless attempts to lynch, fortunately unsuccessful.

The difficulties of dealing with the lynch problem and the far more widespread instances of police brutality are well known. The communities where the misconduct takes place do not merely condone it—they encourage it. Witnesses disappear or are intimidated, juries are suborned, local prosecuting attorneys grow timid, the entire judicial system itself is "subverted" (at last, a proper use of the word!) in "meting out less-than-equal justice to members of minority groups." To millions of Negroes the words of the US Supreme Court in the case of Chambers *v.* Florida must indeed appear rhetorical: "Under our system courts stand against any winds that blow as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered, or because they are nonconforming victims of prejudice and public excitement."

Involuntary servitude was still practised in Alabama as recently as 1944, when the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a statute which "enabled employers to force employees, in debt on account of advanced wage payments, to continue to work for them under

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threat of criminal punishment." The report speaks bluntly and unfavorably of the mass evacuation of Japanese from the West Coast during the war. It criticizes sharply the various bars to citizenship and the alien land laws of the Far West.

A model section of the report describes the systematic disenfranchisement of Negroes throughout Southern states, the deliberate flouting of Supreme Court decisions, the shabby chicaneries and legalized tyranny invoked to preserve the virginal whiteness of the South. The result of these actions, including the invidious technique of the poll tax, is that in eight Southern states, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia, *only 18 percent of the potential voters cast a ballot in the 1944 presidential elections.* (In New Mexico and Arizona, Indians are disenfranchised, presumably on the ground that they are foreigners.)

Good hunting. The contemporary Red panic has not escaped the committee. But even the proximity of the preposterous J. Parnell Thomas and his colleagues has not deflected the committee from its honest purpose. ". . . Public excitement has gone far beyond the dictates of the 'good judgment' and 'calmness' of which Holmes and Brandeis spoke. A state of near hysteria now threatens to inhibit the freedom of genuine democrats." The committee takes notice of the fact that there is good Red-hunting in Washington these crisp autumn days. It scorns the standard which "permits condemnation of persons or groups because of 'association'," and it points to the danger that "the procedure by which the loyalty of accused federal employees is determined may not accord with our tradition of due process of law." Presumably the report was already written when the State Department emerged with its manual of security regulations permitting the dismissal as a "security risk" of any employee for "lack of judgment," "weakness of character," "financial irresponsibility," association with persons themselves "suspected of being security risks," the utterance at any time of unacceptable "social, economic or political opinions," and cognate offenses.

DRAWINGS BY MARANTZ

Anticipating just such manifestations of insanity, the committee warns that in examining the "loyalty" of a civil servant, provision must be made for such traditional procedural safeguards as the "right to a particular bill of accusations, the right to subpoena witnesses and documents where genuine security considerations permit, the right to be represented by counsel, the right to a stenographic report of proceedings, the right to a written decision and the right of appeal." With few exceptions, none of these safeguards is now available to federal employees and here, as elsewhere, the federal government fails in its duty to set an example for the rest of the country, so many sections of which are cynically indifferent to civil rights.

The way to deal with the enemies of democracy is to expose them. Jefferson's precept, as laid down in his first inaugural address, was "the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason." "Our purpose," writes the committee, in keeping with this high tradition, "is not to constrict anyone's freedom to speak: it is rather to enable the people better to judge the true motives of those who try to sway them." Those groups attempting to influence public opinion must be made known. Is this procedure feasible? When left for execution to the average public official, may it not engender abuses graver than those it seeks to cure? The report unfortunately is not explicit, and this is one of the rare instances where a recommendation has not the appearance of being thought through.

Unfair practice and discrimination in employment are recurring blights on our economic system. With Congress having refused to enact legislation establishing a permanent FEPC, the evil grows; and with it "insecurity, fear, resentment, division and tension in our society." A survey of 134 large employment agencies in 10 major cities disclosed that 89 percent of these agencies included questions covering religion on their registration forms. And why not, since the customer must be pleased?

Citizen third-class. In the South a Negro has his first official contact with benign white paternalism in the education he receives. It does not take him long to discover the attributes of second-class citizenship. In his segregated schools the teachers are underpaid—in the home state of Representative John E. Rankin, for example, teachers in Negro schools receive $342 a *year* as against the munificent average of $1,107 to white teachers. Classes are overcrowded, equipment is as bad as possible, the school term as short as possible, the curriculum as nar-

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row as possible. Everything is done to convert the Negro's status from second to third class. Here and there are faint twitches of improvement, notably in Maryland and the District of Columbia, but, on balance, it is a dismal tale. As to prejudice, private schools are no better; their discrimination, if anything, is more snobbish and therefore wider and more impudent, since private schools so often benefit from state or federal subventions, tax privileges and other boons.

Discrimination in housing, the widespread ghetto drive through restrictive covenants still sanctified by law (and "encouraged" as official policy until recently the report reveals, by the Federal Housing Agency), the gross and deliberate denial of equal rights to health services, public services and accommodations (even by the federal government), the practice of segregation (justified on the hypocritical and deceitful "separate but equal" principle) are here exposed that the reader may see, and feel ashamed. That prejudice, artificially nurtured and carefully handed down from generation to generation in order to keep the lowly low, will not withstand even limited assaults of reason and experience is also forcefully demonstrated.

Counterattack. What is to be done about these evil practices which degrade alike the offenders and their victims? How shall we check the militant prejudice which retards our economy as severely as it threatens the maintenance of our social and political institutions? How shall we meet the fact that "our civil-rights record has growing international implications" and that our federal government will face increasing difficulties in its UN role as a champion of human rights if it is incapable of preserving those rights for its own citizens at home? A single lynching has repercussions that "echo from one end of the globe to the other, and the world looks to the American national government for both an explanation of how such a shocking event can occur in a civilized country and remedial action to prevent its occurrence. . . . The US is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable, that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."

Prejudice, to be sure, cannot be overcome by law. The President's committee makes it clear, however, that many of the evils which are born of prejudice can be arrested through government controls. There are ample constitutional powers and, in recent years especially, the Supreme Court has upheld various important federal civil-rights laws. A famous 1896 Supreme Court dissent by Justice Harlan, must be the touchstone for every action program. "Our Constitution," wrote this distinguished Kentuckian, "is color blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

The power exists to protect the right to vote; the right to be free from slavery and involuntary servitude; the right to fair legal process, free speech and assembly; to equal protection of the laws. In the postal, taxing, spending, interstate commerce and war powers there is an enormous arsenal of weapons, many hitherto unused, to combat discrimination, brutality and tyranny. US adherence to the UN creates responsibilities which Congress may enforce, regardless of other inhibitions, because of its broad constitutional authority to enact statutes to carry out treaty obligations.

The federal laws under which Justice Murphy (a tireless defender of civil rights), when serving as Attorney General, established a Civil Rights Section in the Department of Justice, are weak and must be strengthened. Thus, for example, Section 51 of the Civil Rights Section of the US Criminal Code makes it a crime for two or more persons to conspire to "injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right of privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

It is extraordinarily difficult, as any lawyer knows, to prove a conspiracy; if the law were rewritten as the committee recommends, to impose the same liability on one person as is now imposed on conspirators, prosecution of those guilty of lynching or other forms of brutality and intimidation would be greatly facilitated. As matters now stand, the most ludicrous legalisms and linguistic contortions must be indulged in to obtain a conviction. The situation parallels events of the past, when in order to cope with notorious gangsters and racketeers it was necessary to prosecute them for income-tax evasion.

In addition to the recommendations already noted, the committee advocates, among others, the establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, together with a Joint Standing Congressional Committee on Civil Rights; similar action by the states; the enactment of anti-lynch and anti-poll-tax legislation; the giving of self-government and suffrage rights to the residents of the District of Columbia; the modification of the naturalization laws to permit the granting of citizenship without regard to race, color or national origin; legislation, "followed by appropriate administrative action, to end immediately all discrimination and segregation" in the armed services; enactment of a Fair Employment Practice Act; "the conditioning by Congress of all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any pur-

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pose on the absence of discrimination and segregation . . ."; the adoption of state laws guaranteeing equality in education, housing, health services, transportation, accommodation and other public services; "a long term campaign of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another."

And, finally, in this great state document, a challenge to all that is mean, ignoble and sordid in our society, there is the word of peace, the warning that "in a world forever tottering on the brink of war, civil rights will be precarious at best. We need peace and prosperity for their own sake; we need them to secure our civil rights as well."

To the men and women who made this report, we owe what is owed to the men and women throughout history who have cherished liberty and kept it alive. Imbued with their courageous spirit, we can disenthrall ourselves. "Depend upon it," said Burke, "that the lovers of freedom will be free." How deep, we must ask ourselves, is our love?

SCHOOL FOR PUBLISHERS

THE WAYWARD PRESSMAN, by A. J. Liebling (Doubleday and Company; $2.95).

FOUR IN AMERICA, by Gertrude Stein. Introduction by Thornton Wilder (Yale University Press; $3.75).

THANKS to A. J. Liebling in the *New Yorker* and Don Hollenbeck on the radio, the American press, which is more experienced in handing out criticism than in taking it, is currently being subjected to a regular course of measured, chastening and extremely valuable examination by experts. In *The Wayward Pressman,* Liebling, long recognized as a reporter possessing a high order of intelligence and skill, has collected 16 of his "Wayward Press" columns. He has added some autobiographical chapters from his own career as a newspaperman, thrown in a few additional essays on journalism and produced the most enlivening and sardonic commentary on the frailties of our vaunted free press since the heyday of George Seldes and Upton Sinclair. Indeed, his running investigation of the metropolitan newspapers is more effective than was the larger-scale pioneering work of his predecessors. And it is their labors, rather than those of the late and deeply lamented Robert Benchley, founder of the *New Yorker's* column of press criticism, which he is carrying on. The strictures of Seldes and Sinclair, for all their justice, were often too violent to carry the conviction of Liebling's ironic humor.

The dedication of *The Wayward Pressman* is "To the Foundation of a School for Publishers, Failing Which, No School of Journalism Can Have Meaning." The inscription sets forth perfectly the tone of the volume, for the author is at his best when contemplating the ignorance, venality, bigotry and class prejudice for which the owners of the modern journalistic empires bear the responsibility. It is his belief that the narrowness and low professional standards of the newspaper publishers as a class make for the mediocrity prevalent in contemporary journalism.

He points out that, according to Morris Ernst, there are fewer papers today than there were in 1909—1,750 now; 2,600 then—and fewer owners

BOOK CLUB SELECTIONS FOR NOVEMBER

BOOK FIND CLUB. *We, the People,* by Leo Huberman. A popular history of the US from the beginning to the present. Its concession to popular language and understanding make for a simplification that is practically a distortion. Although Thomas Benton has illustrated the text, the maps and graphs are the best part of the book.

BOOK LEAGUE. *Silver Nutmeg,* by Nora Lofts. A melodrama about the nutmeg island of Banda in the Dutch East Indies during the seventeenth century. Lots of Dutch and English intrigue, marble mansions, wealthy white women and beautiful native mistresses. Blood and thunder.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB. *Back Home,* by Bill Mauldin. A record in cartoon and text of the author's experiences here since his release from the Army.

DOLLAR BOOK CLUB. *Friends and Lovers,* by Helen MacInnes. A saccharine romance between a young Oxford undergraduate, penniless but brilliant, and a Scotch lassie, daughter of a conservative Edinburgh lawyer.

FAMILY READING CLUB. *The Bishop's Mantle,* by Agnes Sligh Turnbull. All about a "modern" minister of a fashionable city church, who smokes, drinks and swears, and his wife, also the antithesis of the stereotyped minister's wife, whose frequent appearance in a gossip column causes many raised eyebrows. Rather warm novel.

HISTORY BOOK CLUB. *Rehearsal for Conflict,* by Alfred A. Bill. "More concerned with the fighting of the war and justice for its military men than with its political background. It is an attempt, however, to rehabilitate the Mexican war as a legitimate struggle instead of mere imperialist expansion." – George Soule, in a review to appear shortly in the *New Republic.*

LITERARY GUILD. *Nothing So Strange,* by James Hilton. A rather unbelievable story of an atomic scientist whose brilliant research almost gave Germany the atom bomb before we got it.

NON-FICTION BOOK CLUB. *Speaking Frankly,* by James F. Byrnes. "It is an illuminating book, and is unlikely to leave any doubt in a fair-minded reader's heart that the US has sincerely striven for international concord." – Richard Watts Jr., in the *New Republic,* October 27.

PEOPLE'S BOOK CLUB. *Hope of Earth,* by Margaret Lee Runbeck. After 20-odd years of trials and triumphs in a muddy, desolate region of Illinois, the Phelpses learn the value of grandfather's legacy: faith in America, faith in God, faith in the pioneer way of life. Long-winded and self-righteous.

PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB. *Pattern for World Revolution,* by Ypsilon. A study of the transformation of the Comintern as an organization for world revolution, motivated by the highest ideals, into the "Stalintern," an instrument for the consolidations and extensions of the power of Stalin and his bureaucracy. The anonymous authors are described as "having had intimate contact" with the international Communist movement.

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in relation to the total number of papers. "Ernst refrains from any reflection on the quality of the ownership," adds Liebling. "He says merely that it is dangerous that so much power should be held by so few individuals. I will go one timid step further than Ernst and suggest that these individuals, because of their economic position, form an atypical group and share an atypical outlook."

Right shift. The idea that the American press is free because it is not subject to official censorship does not greatly impress Liebling. There is no necessity, he believes, for any pressure to keep it in line, or force it into expressions of approval for conservative capitalism, because the publishers, as large-scale employers of labor, possessors of a large and profitable business, owners of valuable real estate and associates of the rich and successful, are inevitable defenders of the *status quo*.

Furthermore, it is his cynical conviction that even papers which are started as advocates of liberalism and even radicalism tend to grow as reactionary as the rest of the press, once they have achieved success and find that their class interests have shifted. He offers in evidence of this belief the cases of the New York *Daily News*, the Scripps-Howard chain and the early history of William Randolph Hearst. The fate of the great liberal organ, the New York *World*, whose wealthy proprietors dropped it in dismay and forgot all the injunctions of Joseph Pulitzer, its founder, when it fell upon a few lean years amid its many profitable ones, was a notable example of what happens when a newspaper owner thinks of himself as a big businessman. Liebling, though, sees one bright spot in its demise: it marked the beginning of realism and the end of romanticism in the relation of American newspaper employees to their work, and from it came the American Newspaper Guild.

If Liebling is at his best when excoriating the sins of the publishers, he is at his least effective when looking down his nose at his fellow reporters. Heaven knows, there is reason for regarding with skepticism most of the work done by the sports writers, but when Liebling does his job of dissecting their rather excitable prose style, he sounds strangely carping. He is certainly on admirable ground when mocking the reactionary dullness of the New York *Sun*, but he is both unfair and unsound when, just to register his scorn for Ward Morehouse's paper, he writes slightingly of an extremely readable series by Morehouse on a motor trip across America. The book's almost exclusive interest in the New York press gives it a certain parochial quality, and its emphasis on defects makes it omit such an important fact as that so conservatively Republican a newspaper as the New York *Herald Tribune* can also be one of the few great liberal journals in the world. Such objections, however, do not alter the value of *The Wayward Pressman* as not only a timely book but an entertaining one.

WOODCUT BY ANTONIO FRASCONI
GERTRUDE STEIN

Writing out loud. The one connection between Liebling's book and Gertrude Stein's posthumous *Four in America* is that both call to mind that ubiquitous weekly, the *New Yorker*. Miss Stein's characteristic work is based on an idea that sounds like the property of the magazine's most eminent writer, James Thurber. *Four in America* is a study of Ulysses S. Grant George Washington, Wilbur Wright and Henry James, and the Thurber twist is that it is also a contemplation of what would have happened had Grant been a religious leader, Washington a novelist, Wright a painter and James a general.

Since even Miss Stein's staunchest admirers feel that she needs an interpreter, the task this time has been allotted to Thornton Wilder, who does a manful job. In an interesting discussion of the author's philosophy of writing, Wilder speaks of the quality her work possesses of seeming to be written before your eyes. "She gives us the process. From time to time we hear her groping toward the next idea; we hear her cry of joy when she has found it; sometimes, it seems to me that we hear her reiterating the already achieved idea and, as it were, pumping it in order to force out the next development that lies hidden within it. We hear her talking to herself about the book that is growing and glowing (to borrow her often irritating habit of rhyming) within her." Unfortunately, when he adds that her work gives the impression of a writer alone with her thoughts, the reader suspects he should tiptoe away and leave her there.

It is so easy to look askance at Miss Stein's famous style that a reviewer should flee the temptation, for this was a woman of distinction. She was tremendous as a personality and she could charm and delight both distinguished literary figures and hard-boiled young GI's. Her influence, often an excellent one, on every writer who came in contact with her cannot be overrated. She was filled with provocative, interesting and frequently amusing ideas and, despite her long exile, her love for and understanding of America was deep and real. There are entertaining conceptions in *Four in America* if you have the patience to dig for them. Yet, save for the addicts, this is a dull and exasperating book, because a little less waywardness could have made it so much better and more amusing. So could James Thurber.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

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LABOR: The Rivals Lose a Round

WHEN Walter P. Reuther notified the National Labor Relations Board that United Automobile Workers officers would sign non-Communist affidavits, the first round of labor's resistance to the Taft-Hartley Act approached its end. Postmortems are now in order. On this occasion, at least, the leadership rivalries, jurisdictional struggles and power-politics combines of the unions weakened their strategic defenses against what they preposterously term the "slave-labor law."

This conclusion is based on certain assumptions. The first is that the UAW convention, meeting on November 9 in Atlantic City, will not have repudiated Reuther and its executive board's decision by reëlecting R. J. Thomas, who has refused to sign. The second is that Philip Murray, head of the United Steelworkers, will not long relish his position as president of the only major right-wing CIO union refusing to "go along" with the non-Communist affidavits. The third is that the unions left outside—the Steelworkers, sundry "left-wing" CIO unions and John L. Lewis' AFL United Mine Workers—cannot effectively coöperate in presenting their case to the public. (It is ironic to see Murray and Lewis—once close friends but of late years bitter rivals—thrust into a curious partnership.)

Both on constitutional and on strategic grounds, I think, the CIO and the AFL would have been well advised to stand with Lewis and Murray—non-Communists both.

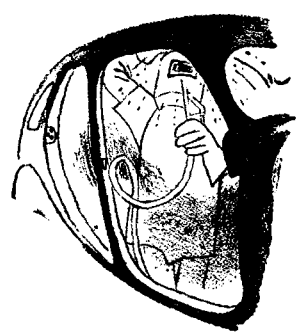
An opposite theory can be argued. The vast majority of union leaders, who detest Communist theories and tactics as heartily as other Americans, saw no point in refusing to go on record. Some of them felt a necessity to qualify for NLRB processes in their tough Southern organizing campaigns.

Within the law. Lewis was clearly correct on one major point when he argued before the AFL against the affidavits, and not all the obscurantism of metropolitan editorial writers can change the fact: No union leader would "violate the law" by refusing to swear his non-communism. The Taft-Hartley Act does not "require" such oaths; it simply says that unions cannot use NLRB processes unless affidavits are signed. The law gives unions two alternatives, and if they think the revamped NLRB is useless to them, they have the legal privilege of declining to sign.

A second issue is the constitutional question. The Communist Party is not illegal in this country; Communists may not be denied due process in criminal and civil court proceedings. Maybe the Supreme Court will uphold the T-H provision denying NLRB processes except to sworn non-Communists. But it is difficult to see, at this moment, a distinction between what Congress has tried to impose on unions through the law and the much criticized gyrations of the House Un-American Activities Committee in its recent attempts to bully the movie industry.

Third—and not least important—a sound strategy of "passive resistance" to the T-H Act was wrecked as dozens of unions fell into line. Lewis, the joy of the cartoonists, told the AFL convention that the decision to sign affidavits abandoned "the greatest chance to destroy [the] law that will ever come to us."

"All we needed to do," Lewis said, "was to do nothing, and the Act would have been discredited. There would have been no [union] cases filed before the [NLRB], and its only functions would have been functions solely in the interests of the employer." Then "the sense of fair play" of our people, Lewis thought, would have swung public opinion to labor's side.



DRAWING BY FERLIN

Why did not other union leaders recognize these constitutional and strategic factors? Partly because of the intense anti-Communistic convictions of most of them; but also because of AFL desire to make capital against CIO unions which might not sign. Partly because of CIO desire to escape this danger. Partly because of CIO and AFL internal politics. The AFL majority resented Lewis' bid for leadership, and in the CIO, right-wingers and left-wingers will do almost anything to dislodge each other.

In any case, the chance to dramatize a powerful and immediate protest against the T-H Act is now gone. The arena of resistance is necessarily shifted to the 1948 political campaign. Optimistic predictions that T-H congressmen will be easily beaten by labor votes are, under present economic conditions, a hashish dream.

Notes. The Farm Equipment Workers (CIO) claim a major victory in settlement of a 40-day strike at International Harvester's Louisville plant, described by the union as the scene of the company's "first effort to run away from high Northern wages." James G. Patton, National Farmers' Union president, remarked that "Southern tractors" cost farmers as much as "Northern tractors." . . . As CIO and AFL unions prepare to seek a "third round" of postwar wage increases, the AFL *Labor's Monthly Survey* reëmphasized the doctrine that by "coming halfway," management can increase wages without again increasing prices. . . . The first NLRB charge of unfair labor practices against a union, in a case involving the International Typographical Union and Baltimore printshops, is scheduled for a December decision by the board's trial examiner; at stake is the ITU's effort to hold its traditional closed shop by declining to sign a contract with the managements and working under union-posted "conditions of employment."

WILLARD SHELTON

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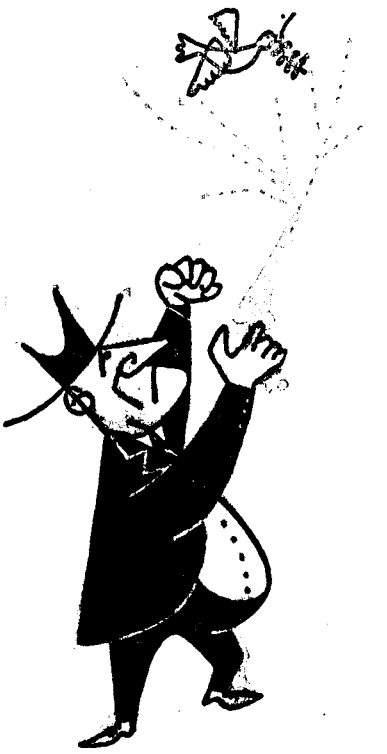
UN NEWS: Paper Victory

THE UNITED STATES has won its third paper battle at the UN in recent weeks. A modified "Little Assembly" has been approved, with the Soviet bloc opposing the plan and promising to boycott it as firmly as the Assembly's Balkan Committee and Korean Commission are being boycotted.

Although the final "Little Assembly" is still designed to by-pass the Security Council veto, its activities have been carefully restricted in an unsuccessful attempt to meet Soviet objections. The Interim Committee, as it is called officially, will deal with political situations referred to it by the Assembly, the Security Council or individual members of the United Nations. But the committee must first decide, by a two-thirds rather than a simple-majority vote, whether a matter referred to it by the Assembly or by a member is important and also requires preliminary study. The decision may be made by a simple majority only if the matter comes from the Security Council.

No subject under consideration by the Security Council can be studied by the Interim Committee. And any investigations undertaken elsewhere than at UN headquarters must not be conducted without the consent of the states involved. Moreover, the committee exists only between the end of the present Assembly and the beginning of next year's Assembly.

Veto test. Alexandre Parodi of France has already voiced the hope that the committee won't be necessary again next year in view of improved functioning in other UN organs. This



DRAWING BY SNYDER

means that if the Russians don't use too many vetoes in the Security Council this year, there's a chance that the committee won't be revived. Parodi is clearly aware that just as the UN itself cannot function adequately without Soviet participation, so none of its bodies can be completely successful if the Russians refuse to participate.

The committee, despite modifications, has been given real powers. It will be a forum in the same sense that the Assembly itself is one. It will report to the Assembly and may ask that the Assembly itself be called into session. Immediately, it may be asked to deal with problems which the Assembly hasn't had and probably won't have time to handle. These will be political problems—the veto question and possibly relations with Franco Spain. In a clever procedural move, Cuba had the discussion of the Spanish question postponed immediately after the "Little Assembly" was approved. If these items are handed over to the Interim Committee, the Russians won't speak on subjects in which they have considerable interest. The Soviet bloc has always been a minority within the UN; it has now become, in part, a minority without a voice.

Rights for one-tenth. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has informed the United Nations that one-tenth of the United States—our Negro population—is barred from full social, economic and educational opportunities.

To date, the NAACP petition is pigeonholed in the Human Rights Commission, which under its rules of procedure "recognizes that it has no power to take any action regarding any complaints concerning Human Rights." The commission can do no more than draw up a theoretical International Bill of Rights. "But," as Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, NAACP director of Special Research, says, "this is deductive reasoning on what rights people *should* have. What we want is inductive reasoning which points out the denial of human rights and suggests what to do about it."

If the petition is hopelessly lost in the Human Rights Commission, it can still be brought up before the Economic and Social Council or before the next General Assembly by an interested nation. All delegations have been notified that the petition is available. Fifteen are interested in seeing it and three—India, Liberia and Haiti—will do everything possible to give it a fair hearing. Mrs. Roosevelt, who is chairman of the Human Rights Commission, a member of the US delegation to the UN Assembly and also a member of the NAACP board of directors, is stymied. As one newspaperman said, "She's developing a split personality in public between a liberal column and a not-so-liberal State Department policy."

JANE BEDELL

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BANDWAGON

Peas in a Pod

"Germany is the heart of the European problem," continued Congressman Cox [D, Ga.]. "In order to save Europe we must keep Germany. There is more found there akin to America than anywhere else, now." – *From the Albany, Georgia,* Herald.

First Principles

A group of District of Columbia high-school students, participating in an oratory contest on the Bill of Rights, were denied use of a public-school auditorium here today because some of them were Negroes. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

How Long, Oh Lord?

Speaking in favor of the atom resolution, Rev. Fr. Michael Haley, past national VFW chaplain, said that Russia had been goading this country to war.

"When shall we use the atomic bomb which God has placed in our hands to enforce peace?" he asked. – *From the Cleveland* Press.

Irrelevant

Berthold Brecht, German poet and playwright, was called to the stand and accused of writing "revolutionary poetry." He conceded that his poetry might be so described, but pointed out that it was all done in his fight against Hitlerism in Germany. Thomas curtly informed Robert E. Stripling, committee investigator, that the committee was not interested in Brecht's opposition to Hitler. – *From the Chicago* Sun.

Select Company

Twenty-six persons have plunged from the 1,250-foot skyscraper [the Empire State Building] since it was completed in 1931. Miss——was the sixth to clear all setbacks. – *From the New York* Times.

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THEATER: The Blight

THIS was the sort of week that makes a reasonable man throw up his hands in despair at the economics of the American theater. Two productions, each of which must have cost well over $60,000, opened, without warning or public misgiving, and promptly proceeded to add four hours of boredom to the debit side of a healthy season's ledger. A third offering, which looked as though it couldn't have cost more than $1.35 to produce, sent its audience out into the street on a flood of singing and triumphant emotion.

First of the expensive failures was the Theater Guild's "This Time Tomorrow," by a new Dutch playwright, Jan de Hartog. It has a decent, solemn idea—the examination of the spiritual forces that can keep a human being alive when the wasted body is long overdue in the graveyard.

It is played by well known actors who have given capable performances in the past; it has the prestige of the imperial Guild behind it—but it is one of those plays which cast a blight on everything they touch.

Thus the sets are ugly and misshapen, painted in dreary blues and browns, like nothing so much as a middle-priced mausoleum, furnished and decorated by Grand Rapids. The actors, even such an expert one as Sam Jaffe, seem bereft of all their proved skill. The director, in a frantic effort to make things brisk, merely clarifies the essential immobility of the script, like a man who tries to make us believe a corpse is alive by stringing it on wires and having it dance a jig.

There are some bad plays in which honors can be gained by a clever actor or scene designer. And there are some bad plays which are the general thieves of talent. "This Time Tomorrow" is unfortunately one of the latter.

Bedroom and bath. "For Love or Money," by F. Hugh Herbert, is the sort of failure which is usually treated indulgently by the press. The author is obviously not trying to say anything; he clearly states that he hasn't got an idea in his head besides making a few dollars, preferably a million—and this candid commercial ambition protects him from the wrath visited upon playwrights of more exalted pretensions.

The play rattles along at that double-speed, nervous rate which is considered in some circles to give "pace" to a work, and which is to be found nowhere in life, not even in a jet-airplane factory. It has such staples of the prurient diet as a pretty, plump young blonde who sheds her rain-soaked evening gown in a strange man's home to put on a dressing gown which is cutely much too large for her.

To add further relish to the dish, the blonde lives in the same house with the strange man, on a pseudo-moral basis that is finally more salacious than anything else the two people could have cooked up between them. Finally, of course, she manages to seduce her host, an older man with pictures of Ruth Chatterton and Helen Hayes on his piano, and at the final curtain she is on the verge of tasting the doubtful joys of the bed which has been haunting the place like a smirking ghost ever since 8:40.

It is all like a paste-up job of *Esquire* cartoons and bad passages from old Noel Coward plays, done on a rainy night of complete desperation in wintry Beverly Hills. Miss June Lockhart, the plump girl in the dressing gown, has been extravagantly praised by other critics, who, I suspect, are showing their usual middle-aged susceptibility in the face of youthful

DRAWING BY JOHN TAYLOR

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charm. Miss Lockhart may very well be a good actress, but she was forced to do so many ugly and banal things at the Henry Miller Theater that judgment must be reserved on her until a later, and, I hope, better, day,

Heartbreak and courage. Once more, one of our former allies has demonstrated how wise we were to save them from the Germans. Last week it was the British. This week it is the French, in the persons of a tragic-eyed singer of café ballads by the name of Edith Piaf, and nine young men who look as though they have just come down from the Maquis to entertain us.

They are presented in a sinfully shabby and bare production, including an ancient, incongruous curtain plastered with embroidered cactus, an unprepossessing master of ceremonies, a large lady in ludicrously sexy clothes who leers at the audience between numbers, a hodgepodge of clumsy Greek dancers, Italian strong-arm men and international trick bicyclists.

But all these depressing hangovers from the Keith circuit are forgotten in the cheerful blaze of wit and youth in which the nine Compagnons de la Chanson run through their nimble and delightful musical parodies. In fact, they are so good that I wondered how Miss Piaf dared to give them so much time before she came on.

But after hearing her first notes I understood why she has nothing to fear from even the most powerful competition. My French is strictly of the "Vive la France! Vivent les Etats-Unis! Avez-vous de cognac?" variety, but the low, sturdy, throbbing voice, the simple, direct delivery which seems to blend heartbreak and courage in equal proportions, serve to sweep away the barriers of lingual ignorance and touch the hearer with a wordless, melancholy beauty. A tiny figure in black, alone on the miserly stage, Miss Piaf creates and makes real for us a world of rundown hopes, hungry, inarticulate lovers, soldiers forever gone, work-worn heroes and heroines in shabby clothes, poor in all the world's possessions, rich only in their pity and love.

IRWIN SHAW

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MUSIC: Collection of Folklore

IF YOU SPENT any time in Army PX's during the war, you are unlikely to entertain an overwhelming fondness for the nasal, singsong laments of hillbilly vocalists asserting their fidelity to fair-haired and faithless young things in calico. A powerful indictment of war can be made from the case of several khaki-clad mountaineers weeping into their 3.2 beer and hovering around a juke box to vie for the privilege of playing "No Letter Today" for the five hundredth consecutive time. Therefore, I ask myself why I want to recommend so heartily Columbia's current album of hillbilly music played by Roy Acuff and his Smoky Mountain Boys (C-143). One reason, I believe, is that the tunes selected possess some authenticity as folk music and little of the tedium that identifies most of the chromium-plated ballads today. Songs like "Wreck on the Highway" and "Wabash Cannon Ball" have a forthright, unspoiled vigor. Then too, Acuff and his boys have a way with fiddles, harmonicas and guitars. I think you'll be able to digest this album with little difficulty.

Torch. When a woman singer carries a torch she's usually describing one of two rather basic experiences. There's (a) the unrequited love, or My Man Done Left Me circumstance, and (b) the unqualified adoration, or He's a Schmo But I Love Him situation. Dinah Shore, running this gamut on a four-side Columbia package entitled "Torch Songs" (Set D-1), proves herself more convincing as an interpreter of (b). Singing "Bill" and "When a Woman Loves a Man," the Memphis (or is it Nashville?) belle conveys with little effort and much warmth the idea that going through life with some big, unresponsive slob is as rewarding an existence as any girl could hope for.

When she starts messing around with (a), she's in the wrong league. The concept of Dinah Shore as a hot singer in a class with Billie Holiday and Mildred Bailey is not borne out by her singing, despite such devices as the breaking voice, the pseudo-"darky" accent and a background of growl mutes and boogie-woogie rhythm.

Spirituals in rhythm. Like hillbilly songs, spirituals can easily become deadening, but not when sung by the Golden Gate Quartet. This group's new album (Columbia C-145) is exciting, and if you're not familiar with its distinctive way of handling spirituals, you're in for a treat. Some listeners may object to the polish and sophistication on the grounds that it's not the genuine thing, but to me, none of the original religious flavor is lost, and I think that the songs benefit by the treatment.

If you're wondering why this review is devoted to Columbia releases, I refer you to the Railway Express people, who I hope are at least playing the review records sent by the other companies ostensibly to me. About the only other current release in my possession that's worth mentioning is a wonderful pair by Duke Ellington on Musicraft entitled "Diminuendo in Blue" and "Jam a Ditty." With characteristic teamwork between sections and soloists, the numbers are a perfect cohesion of ideas.

And it may be a source of encouragement to know that the spiritual, "Ain't Gonna Study War No More," has been recorded for Capitol by the Oak Ridge Quartet.

CHARLES MILLER

DRAWING BY GERTRUDE GOODRICH

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FOREIGN PRESS: Anatomy of Fear

IN HIS inaugural address of 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt rallied a badly shaken country with his famous line about "fear itself." Today, after 15 years, his warning words come back to us from France, headlining a front-page editorial by Michel Gordey in the French Foreign Office's unofficial weekly, *La Tribune des Nations*.

"Will there be war before Christmas? Or will it be next year? Or in 1949? Are Americans going to land in North Africa? Or in Turkey? Or Spain? Is Russia going to occupy all of Europe? Or three-quarters, or maybe two-thirds of it? Apprehension erodes, anguish floods and shakes the world. A fever of obsessions, an epidemic of fixed ideas, a collective psychosis grips public opinion. The man in the street is frightened. The man in government assumes airs of mystery, trying vainly to hide the same insecurity mingled with fear," writes Gordey.

"The atomic age is upon us. Armaments rise; the reconstruction efforts of a confused and devastated world shatter against the fear of tomorrow. In Paris, New York, Rome, London and Moscow spectres are painted on the walls. Barely two years have passed since Hiroshima, less than three years since the battle of Ardennes. Yet already, on all lips, in all newspapers, over all radios, the word 'war' is more current than daily bread."

The battle of whispers. Sometimes at night, writes Gordey, voices from beyond the grave make themselves heard in this chaotic world. The voice of Nuremberg, whispering "Bolshevism . . . that is the enemy . . ."; the voice of Munich, promising "peace in our time"; and then another voice, "a warm, human, reassuring voice . . . the voice of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, echoing in the hearts and souls of unquiet humanity: 'The only thing we have to fear is fear itself'." What exactly do we fear? asks Gordey. "War, blood, famine and the atomization of hope. . . . With every day that passes, another bridge crumbles . . . another reason for believing in the future disappears."

And yet, Gordey reminds us, countries devastated by Germany have shown that they can perform "miracles of reconstruction" so long as they have faith in their "collective destinies." "Have we lost our capacity to see, to understand, to remember? Have we forgotten that, even without Doctrine X, and Plan Y and dollars, nations can live if they are determined to live? Must the voice of Roosevelt remind us?"

Words and deeds. Admitting that "the war of words has been unleashed between the US and Russia," Gordey urgently points to an important inconsistency. "Both in Moscow and in New York, responsible statesmen protest the desire and the will for peace of the peoples they represent . . . all the while accusing each other of the blackest intentions. . . ." Yet both sides are equally careful not to burn their bridges. "Only a few weeks after Vishinsky violently attacked the US at Lake Success," Undersecretary of State Clayton declared it to be "US policy not to do anything that would prevent or hinder commercial relations between Eastern and Western Europe"; Ilya Ehrenburg, writing in Moscow, suggested that it would be "absurd to try to separate Western European from Russian culture"; and the US Department of Commerce announced: "Commercial relations between the US and the USSR are about to reach prewar levels."

Therefore, concludes Gordey, we must learn to distinguish between "fear and legitimate suspicion." We must weigh "intentions, motives and reflexes" before giving way to fear. "The choice is twofold: mutual reconstruction, or collective destruction. In this feverish autumn of 1947, that which is most to be feared is the fear of facing facts." EVA PUTNAM

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The NEW REPUBLIC

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FARM: The Right to Health

THE FIGHT for health legislation goes on. Health is high on the agenda of most farm organizations, and even the Farm Bureau has come out in support of federal assistance for health programs in rural areas. At its convention this month the National Grange will probably endorse voluntary coöperative health plans to be assisted in part with federal funds, and the National Farmers' Union continues to plug for health legislation. At the recent annual convention of the Cooperative Health Federation, the Farmers' Union reaffirmed its stand in favor of a compulsory-insurance health bill.

Part of this activity arises from the fact that the provisions of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, passed in the 79th Congress, are just now going into effect. Under the Hospital Act, $75 million will be appropriated every year for five years for the building of hospitals, and $3 million more for surveys. The US Public Health Service has approved blueprints of hospital needs for Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and Oklahoma, and other states are going ahead with the preliminary surveys required before federal money is granted.

Help for farmers. The Hospital Act, a good law, has one basic weakness. The areas most in need of hospital facilities will get the least money because each state is required to put up $2 for every $1 it receives from the federal treasury, and the state is also required to maintain the hospital after it has been built. The poorer states are not financially able to pay for two-thirds of the initial cost and all of the maintenance. The Democrats will sponsor legislation designed to relieve this situation. A bill to be introduced in Congress before January will provide, among other things, for hospitals and medical care in rural areas.

Two major health bills are already before the 80th Congress, the Taft bill (S. 545), which is completely inadequate, and the national-health-insurance and public-health bill (S. 1320), sponsored by Senators Wagner, Murray, Pepper, Chavez, Taylor and McGrath, which would provide health insurance to every family in the country, rural areas included. (This is a revised version of the 1946 Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.)

Taft wrong again. A cursory examination of the Taft bill shows why liberals and middle-of-the-roaders like the National Grange are against it. It provides for a measly $200 million annual appropriation for five years for the health of the nation and contains a requirement to ensure that nobody but a pauper will benefit from it. Taft claims it will cover 20 to 25 percent of the population; experts say five percent is an optimistic figure.

The bill is nothing more or less than an attempt to get the federal government to subsidize the medical profession. Perhaps the worst thing about it is that Taft hands over the whole program, lock, stock and barrel, to the states, and does so in such a way that the state medical societies will run the show. What Taft will do about his bill nobody knows, but if he's smart, he will modify it quickly.

Passage of the national-health-insurance bill is generally conceded to be impossible at this session. Of the major farm organizations only the Coöperative League of the USA and the National Farmers' Union have come out for it.

Although the short-term outlook for health protection is not too good, we will ultimately have health insurance to protect even sharecroppers. When a robber breaks into your house you call a cop, whom you pay through taxes. Nobody calls this socialism. When a disease or accident breaks into your body, wouldn't it be just as sensible to have a medical cop on tap? Because more and more people are beginning to realize the logic of such thinking, health insurance is bound to come.

ANGUS MCDONALD

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RADIO: Peace

THERE is a new network operating in the United States now. In New England, it is hooked onto the Yankee Network; its Pacific Coast leg rides the Don Lee Network. In between, it has signed up WCAU, Philadelphia, and WGAR, Cleveland, both CBS affiliates; WJJD, Chicago, which operates independently of the regular coast-to-coast networks; and a total of 110 other outlets belonging to one or another of the standard webs or to none. The new hook-up, "Network for Peace," is operated by the United Nations, out of Lake Success.

So far, "Network for Peace" has only one show regularly on the air, a 15-minute period called "United Nations Today." Its purpose is a simple one: to show that the UN is a group of organizations often achieving positive results never properly pictured in our newspaper headlines.

Recently, at one of those numerous cocktail parties studding the byways of Radio Row, I met the foreign minister of a Central European country; a puzzled man, and hurt. He had just come from a vital UN meeting where large areas of agreement had been mapped out by representatives of the dominant Eastern and Western blocs. But in the afternoon newspapers he picked up on the way to this party there was not a word on the front pages indicating peaceful agreement at Lake Success. The emphasis was all on thunder and lightning. It's that tendency in our press that the UN organization is trying to break down through its "Network for Peace."

Each day, under supervision of a man named Christopher Cross, who is the UN's radio liaison man for the US, the various debates are "edited" from recordings made as a matter of routine. The most significant portions of the debates are built into a single program, through the use of the voices of delegates interspersed with an announcer's continuity.

No UN official, of course, would dare criticize the American networks. But when asked why they had to build their own system, instead of using one —or all—of established nets, they answered that "United Nations Today" had been offered to every one of our established networks.

Writers' rights. You may recall that some months ago it was reported here that the Radio Writers' Guild had voted to strike unless the networks showed willingness to negotiate a contract in good faith. A committee started negotiating such a contract with the network and agencies something like three years ago, but nothing much happened until the strike vote. Then things moved fast. By August 1, a tentative agreement was drawn up. On October 30, the RWG and the four coast-to-coast networks signed the first minimum basic agreement for radio free-lance writers.

The agreement is a long and complex document. But, in addition to setting minimum basic scales for free-lance writers, it abolishes the network "release form." This was a sort of yellow-dog slip in which the writer had to swear away all rights to his own brain child before a network would even look at the script. The contract also defines the writers' rights in cases of rebroadcast or use of his script for another medium; sets up the "guild shop" on the networks; and provides arbitration machinery.

The fight isn't over. This agreement is between the guild and the networks only—it does not include the advertising agencies, and they control most of the commercial shows. But it's a start. For the first time, radio writers have established their right to have rights and to define them. The networks, having agreed to certain standards, cannot now back the agencies in violation of those standards. When these standards become universal, the listener should gain along with the writers. Contentment has as stimulating an effect on writers at it does on cows.

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MOVIES: Gentleman's Agreement

TWICE in a season, Hollywood has broken its self-protective silence on social questions to raise the issue of anti-Semitism, in many ways the nastiest of them all. "Crossfire" was a melodrama in which an instance of race hatred contributed to murder, and as the first film to challenge a basic taboo, it was a courageous piece of work. "Gentleman's Agreement," however, goes much deeper into the subject to offer the anatomy of anti-Semitism in an entire social group.

Darryl F. Zanuck's production of the Laura Z. Hobson novel is an unrelenting diagnosis of a miserable disease, and though it offers no cure (except the now obvious one that "we must do something"), it gets the subject off the pages of moral reform and into the nation's sanctuaries of escapism. And since those who have worked with the problem thus far have produced no very effective remedy, they can scarcely object if greater numbers are now urged to take part.

The power to shock. Though the film is largely a copy of Mrs. Hobson's original idea, it is more effective than the book by the nature of its medium. The spoken word carries a greater shock than the written one; images of the mind can never be as convincing as images of the eye. That fact, which has always been the only valid excuse for the timidity of Hollywood's moral code, now in different context gives force to this film. You find the word "kike" distasteful here on the page; it is much more offensive when you hear it spoken in a theater.

Zanuck and his aides, Moss Hart, who wrote the adaptation, and Elia Kazan, who directed, have kept their film in the Hollywood vernacular, and to the outward eye nothing has been changed. "Gentleman's Agreement" is an "A" picture from the opening panorama of the New York skyline to the closing embrace.

It is a picture of deep carpets and sleek cars, of bright cocktail chatter and intimate luncheons to soft music, of the love at first sight that has drawn wistful crowds off the streets for so many years. The subject has seemed to lend a new dignity to the actors, but the level of their performances is really the one to which they have long since accustomed us. The creators of this film made it to play long runs in big houses, and they have not exchanged their infallible motley for sackcloth.

The faults of a tract. By dispassionate critical standards, "Gentleman's Agreement" is not a success. It is a tract rather than a play and it has the crusader's shortcomings. The incidents build up too rapidly and they come too pat; the characters are chosen too consciously as types to advance the argument. You can pick flaws if you wish. It seems overdoing it, for example, that John Garfield, playing Gregory Peck's Jewish boyhood friend, should be an Army captain and thus appear, as it were, wrapped in the flag. Some observers may be bothered that Peck's fiancée (Dorothy McGuire) should have such a fatal knack for saying the wrong thing, or that the secretary assigned him by the huge magazine for whom he is doing the series on anti-Semitism should turn out to be an anti-Semitic Jew. But it is not necessary, or perhaps even wise, to be too dispassionate in this case. Artistic objections will scarcely evade the indictment.

Questions for nice people. In its story of a young magazine writer who pretends for a few weeks to be a Jew and who, unprotected by habituation, experiences the frustrations, humiliations, fears and rages that are commonplaces to the Jew, the film probes far beyond overt Jew-baiting and the sleazy subterfuges of restricted neighborhoods and selected clienteles. Right-minded people readily deplore these abnormalities, but "Gentleman's Agreement" goes on to the right-minded people themselves. It forces them into a corner where their code of acceptable behavior will no longer shield them, and then asks them how they stand.

The attitude expressed by the phrase "some of my best friends" has been in disrepute for many years, but others akin to it have remained in vogue. One has no feeling oneself on the matter of race, but in a specific case one likes to know; one is disgusted by anti-Jewish stories, but a scene would only emphasize the matter; one deplores segregation, but wouldn't want to place a friend in a position to be hurt; one pities the Jew and is very glad to have been born a Christian. One wonders, finally, if talking about it doesn't just make the evil that much worse. Most, but by no means all, Jews have understood these attitudes all their lives; "Gentleman's Agreement" gives the Gentile an incentive to wrestle with them for himself.

Both as a book and as a film "Gentleman's Agreement" is projected at a level calculated to catch the largest audience, and the individual may thus be tempted to deny its pertinence for him. But though some of the implications are obvious, others go deep; and the man who can avoid them completely is thoughtful and honorable beyond the common run. R. L. H.

Flashbacks

MAN ABOUT TOWN—Maurice Chevalier throws away his straw hat to play an ingratiating lead in René Clair's excellent new comedy. Commentary in English by Chevalier.

RIDE THE PINK HORSE—Expertly contrived crook picture with Robert Montgomery as director and star.

FOREVER AMBER—Linda Darnell walks through a necessarily purified but unnecessarily boring treatment of the notorious novel.

GREEN DOLPHIN STREET—An unusual case of mistaken identity sends this costume spectacle on a very slow voyage around the world. Lana Turner and Van Heflin head a big-money cast.

LIFE WITH FATHER—A dilute screen version for those who unaccountably never saw the play

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

In this page, the New Republic publishes several departments of informational and news advertising in the fields of communication. Advertisements, to be acceptable, must be factual in character or objectively descriptive, or they can be recommendations, by authorities or critics. Ads are listed by category, in the form of a directory, to give you easy access to the fields of your interest. Readers will find these listings, which will vary from week to week, of continuing interest.

Contents:

BOOKS 39
Biography; Dictionaries and Reference Works; Drama; Fiction; History; Languages; Poetry; Psychology; Public Affairs; Reprints; Bookstores; Specialty Bookstores.
RECORDS 39

The FINE ARTS Department, which appeared in the November 3rd issue, will appear next in the issue of December 1st.

BOOKS

Several classifications of books appear each week in this department, but not necessarily the same ones. From time to time, there will be listings of low-priced reprints; old and rare and special book dealers; and notices of related services in the field of publishing.

BIOGRAPHY

JUAREZ AND HIS MEXICO, *by Ralph Roeder, 2 vols. boxed, Viking, $10.* A biographical history "monumental in size and scope . . . With such a pageant to report, it is especially to the credit of the author that he never loses sight of the social and political implications . . . A work of insight and importance."—*Richard Watts, Jr., New Republic.*

DICTIONARIES AND REFERENCE WORKS

COLUMBIA DICTIONARY OF MODERN EUROPEAN LITERATURE, *gen. ed. Horatio Smith, Columbia, $10.* All living writers of thirty-one literatures who have attained eminence in their art are described historically and critically, as are their immediate literary predecessors. Approximately 1,200 authors are represented, from about 1870 to the present.

THE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA, *Columbia, $19.50.* America's best one-volume encyclopedia, complete with post-war supplement. Over 5,000,000 words, 63,000 articles.

DRAMA

REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN DRAMA, *by Edmond M. Gagey, Columbia, $3.75.* A survey of the American theatre from 1912 to the present with discussions of the chief dramatic productions and playwrights of the period.

FICTION

THE LAST OF THE PROVINCIALS, *The American Novel, 1915-1925, by Maxwell Geismar, Houghton-Mifflin, $3.50.* Presents as completely as possible in their own terms five dominant novelists of the 1920's: H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

THE NEEDLE'S EYE, *by Timothy Pember, Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.* A novel of a man's mature awakening. "Written with such unobtrusive grace that it might be Mr. Pember's tenth novel instead of his first."—*Malcolm Cowley.*

THE SHERWOOD ANDERSON READER, *ed. by Paul Rosenfeld, Houghton-Mifflin, $5.* This book contains more of Anderson's stories than have ever been previously published in one volume. It follows a roughly chronological form and includes a biographical sketch and critical estimate of Anderson by the editor, who was his friend. There are about 60,000 words in previously unpublished pieces.

HISTORY

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE LAW OF NATIONS, *by Arthur Nussbaum, Macmillan, $4.50.* This is the first book since Wheaton's *History of the Law of Nations* (which appeared more than a century ago) to give a concise history of international law, including political events as well as doctrines. Of interest to every thoughtful person who wants to know why the law of nations has failed to prevent war in the past, and whether it can secure peace in the future.

LANGUAGES

SPANISH FOR ALL, *by Sanz, Barnes & Noble, $2.* Teaches Spanish quickly through the use of two colors and the author's special method.

POETRY

THE COURSE IN IRISH VERSE, *by Robert Farren, Sheed & Ward, $2.50.* Tracing the development of verse written in English by Irishmen since they first contracted the habit. Many poems are included.

PSYCHOLOGY

DEEP ANALYSIS, *by Charles Berg, M.D., Norton, $3.50.* A clinical description of a complete Freudian analysis. A revelation of the springs and mechanisms of an individual psychic pattern and emotional structure.

EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF LIVING, *by O. Spurgeon English, M.D. and G. H. J. Pearson, M.D., 7th Printing, Norton, $5.* Avoiding the Neurotic Pattern. "A valuable contribution to the art of better living."—*N. Y. Times.*

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY, *by Harold Zink, Macmillan, $4.* The author of this informative account of our military occupation of Germany was American editor of the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany* and served the Army as consultant on the reorganization of the German government. "Important for any understanding of the American occupation and its relation to the German problem."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE IN THE CARIBBEAN, *by Paul Blanshard, Macmillan, $5.* This book throws a bright spotlight on the Caribbean, with its smoldering tensions and fragments of four empires. *The Nation* says, "As a State Department official stationed in the Caribbean . . . Mr. Blanshard was in an excellent strategic position to study the problems of the Caribbean. And he made such brilliant use of his opportunities that his book is the best general study of the area to date."

A PATTERN OF POLITICS, *by August Heckscher, Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.* A young newspaper editor challenges our political thinking. "Filled with keen insights upon past and present."—*Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*

THE STATESMAN'S YEARBOOK, 1947, *edited by S. H. Steinberg, Macmillan, $7.50.* Just published, this new edition gives up-to-date information and statistics on all the countries of the world. Covers history, industry, communications, finance, social welfare, and many other subjects. New sections on Tibet, Transjordan, and Trieste; revised information on the liberated countries of Europe; the first correct map of the German zones; new facts on the agriculture, mineral resources, and industry of Soviet Asia; currency tables based on official material of the International Monetary Funds—and much more that is available nowhere else.

REPRINTS

THE PORTABLE CHEKHOV, *Selected, translated by Avrahm Yarmolinsky, Viking, $2.* Twenty-eight of his best stories; two of his finest plays complete—*The Cherry Orchard* and *The Boor;* plus a selection from his letters.

THE PORTABLE RUSSIAN READER, *Ed. by Bernard G. Guerney, Viking, $2.* "an unusual collection . . . His selection is strikingly original and his own translations are eminently readable."—*William L. Shirer, N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

BOOKSTORES

The following bookstores will supply any books advertised in these pages; they will order any books not on hand.

Chicago

KROCH'S, *206 North Michigan Ave.*

Los Angeles

BRENTANO'S, *611 West 7th St.*

New York

BRENTANO'S, *586 Fifth Ave.*

SPECIALTY BOOKSTORES

SOVIET RUSSIA: Send for book list. Also lists on Labor and the Negro. BOOKSHOP, *69 University Place, N. Y. C. 3.*

RECORDS

Listed below are albums, single records, and catalogs of special interest to New Republic readers.

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F. D. ROOSEVELT'S OWN VOICE. Authorized recording of 23 of his most important radio addresses, N. B. C. incomparable recording, from First Inaugural, March, 1933, to Jefferson Day address (posthumous), April, 1945. Two de luxe souvenir albums, 12 records, 2 sides, unbreakable, $24.50 set. For Collectors, Archives, Schools, Speech Students. *Linguaphone Institute, 204 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.*

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ADVERTISEMENT

Mr. Vishinsky

When You Go Home—You Can Tell Your People These Truths About the U. S. A.

YOU COULD do it in Pravda, which means truth. You could use Radio Moscow to tell them. You could tell it to your people who are not members of your Communist Party but who are owned, body and soul, by your party.

You could tell your people that we Americans are not seeking war and are not warmongers. We hate war. We want peace. We want the whole world to have the opportunities and freedom upon which lasting peace can be brought to all nations. You know that.

You could explain that we are not a capitalistic monopoly. Tell your people that our railroads, telephones, radios, airlines, shipping lines, factories, stores, mines and forests are *not* owned by government but that they are *owned* by the people as private citizens. You could tell them that millions — and many more millions — of the people's dollars are invested in our railroad, automobile and our steel industries—and all other industries—all of which came out of the savings of the people.

You could tell your people that we are not a capitalistic nation—but that your Russia today is the only complete capitalistic nation on earth. It owns everything, including the people and the profits the people could make on their own labor.

In America, the people own everything—including the government. In the U. S. S. R. the government owns everything—including the people.

Tell the Russian people that in America, through the industrial know-how, we have turned luxuries into mass production within the reach of everybody. Explain that telephones, bathtubs, gas stoves, radios, refrigerators, electric light, vacuum cleaners and automobiles are not luxuries in America. Tell them we have over 80% of all the automobiles in the world—and they are owned—not by the rich—they are owned by the people. They are the capitalists. Every bit of property our people own is owned because they have saved money out of the greatest earnings ever earned by any people. All because of the free competitive system, made possible by liberty.

Tell your people about our courts of justice. Explain our jury system by which 12 of our equals decide on the guilt or innocence of any one charged and brought to the bar. We do not have judges who decide on guilt or innocence. We the people decide. The judge pronounces sentence. We elect the judges.

Also tell your people that we sent to your country $11,500,000,000 of lend-lease war material to win your war over Nazi Germany, your former ally, who turned on you. Marshal Stalin said that the war would have been lost without the productivity of America. You might tell your people that all the material and food sent to you was produced by America in addition to what we needed to win our own war and help England win hers.

Tell your people how much greater American production is than that of Russia. But, tell them why. The secret is that U. S. A. production is free and every producer is free. Explain how every family in America is self-regulated and runs itself better than you of the inner circle run all of the Russians from the Kremlin.

Explain, Mr. Vishinsky, that in the U. S. A. every man, woman and child has the right to progress—is automatically given liberty and freedom—can pick out any educational opportunity they want, the job they want, and decide, personally, what they want to be.

Tell them about our Constitution and how—if some people want something which is not constitutional, there must be submitted a proposed amendment so that all may vote—and only by two-thirds of the legislatures of the State can such amendment become law. No person, in or out of government, can issue an order in defiance of the Constitution. Tell them America believes in the rights of man and that we make the State—a servant of the people. That is just the opposite of the Russian communistic system where man is nothing and the State is everything, the sole possessor of liberty and freedom.

Tell your people the U. S. A. is a Republic. That the same legal rules which enable us to continue as a Republic also enable our businesses to continue with constant change and modification. Would you tell them that America has achieved the highest living standard—the greatest tolerance, the truest charity—all because of giving liberty and freedom to all people. Tell your people that we in America regard the police state as a horror, as a crime against the body and the soul of man.

Tell your people that we resent the charges that we are a warmongering people. It is not only unkind and uncalled for—but a malicious statement.

Mr. Vishinsky, if you were a citizen of the U. S. A. and returned from visiting Russia, you could state publicly what you discovered. You could say it in print, by radio—even in moving pictures. You would have that right as an American citizen. You are one of the big men of the U. S. S. R. Can you go home and tell the truth?

As a private citizen of the U. S. A., I have freedom to make this statement in public print as often as I please. Recently, I was invited to make a radio broadcast. I will be glad to send it to you. It is something about our country and the freedom of every individual in it. Would you like to read it? I can send it through the U. S. mail. Any citizen can have it.

That is freedom, Mr. Vishinsky. That is the by-product—just one of the by-products—of the most priceless secret that you could carry back to Russia. The secret is the system by which the U. S. A. has made progress. A system of liberty and freedom for the individual. If you would see your own country move fast into a great productive nation of happy people, set your people free. Take capitalism out of the hands of your government and put it in the hands of your people—where it belongs. Capitalism then ceases to be what you have called it, and becomes the secret by which common wealth is created for all the people.

Not a single word of this message has a double meaning. We owe a debt of gratitude to those who established our way of life and only by preserving and spreading the dignity of man—the rights of freedom—can we pay that debt.

You can answer this message, Mr. Vishinsky, in this same magazine for the same price I pay for it. You have unlimited funds at your command. Why, you are the agent of the greatest capitalistic power on earth! I am just an American citizen, one of the millions you have referred to as capitalists.

We want to continue to own our own country and our government and to hold inviolate liberty and freedom and preserve the dignity of mankind.

We in America believe in the spiritual as well as the material side of life. They must go hand-in-hand. We realize we cannot abolish nature, the handmaiden of God. Nor can we or any other country control nature—the flood—and ebb tides—or the changes of seasons. Only God controls that and makes the seed that creates your harvest. Nature insists that man be free in order that he may reach his highest possible position and be of service to his fellowmen—not to any state.

When you return to your country, Mr. Vishinsky, why don't you tell your people about our way of life in America? *"When peace shall once more be acclaimed, the work of the world will have begun."*

E. F. HUTTON.
Westbury, L. I.

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